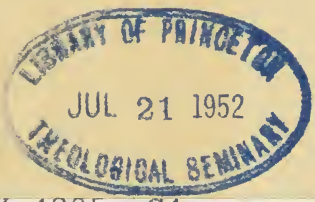
The Word Protestant

IN

Literature, History and Legislation

REV. W. H. CAVANAGH



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THE WORD PROTESTANT

IN

Literature, History and Legislation

AND ITS

INTRODUCTION INTO THE AMERICAN CHURCH

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM HENRY CAVANAGH

PHILADELPHIA
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PREFACE.

THE object of the following pages is to trace the evolution and development of an idea, or set of ideas, which have been generally denominated by the title Protestant, and which, in the light of present knowledge, must be regarded as one of the curiosities of history. We have felt obliged, in Chapter II. especially, to touch upon a multitude of facts, which are to be viewed as perspective only to the great drama of Reformation, in order to show that ecclesiastics of the Middle Ages were not wholly void of conscience, and not nearly so ignorant or degraded as we have been ordinarily taught to regard them. The Church and Protestantism have nothing in common, which we have tried to maintain by authorities throughout, and where inaccuracies or inconsistencies exist, according to our judgment, we have not hesitated to point them out. Protestantism rejects the idea that our Divine Lord founded a visible church, in order to support the basic theory of immediate contact, which sees no necessity for Ministry or Sacraments, other than that which the circumstances demand. We have endeavored to show that the

animating principle of the Anglican reformation was "ancient custom," and where Protestantism has put forth claims to originality and uniqueness, it will be found, by diligent inquiry, that exact parallels exist in long since forgotten theories put forth in the early centuries. My authorities are given either in the context or in foot-notes throughout the book. I desire to acknowledge my obligations to the author of an article in the Church Quarterly Review of January, 1879; to Judge Homersham Cox's essay, "Is the Church of England Protestant?", to Rev. F. C. Ewer's "Catholicity and Protestantism," and the Church Historical Society's publications.

GERMANTOWN, PHILADELPHIA,
March, 1899.

INTRODUCTION.

THE word Protestant, since the year 1529, has been a thing to conjure with. It was first used as a term of contempt, but as time went on it lost its original pungency, and Dissenters gradually adopted it to express resentment to the Church of Rome. It never found its way, however, into any doctrine of the Church of England, and its introduction into the American Church, can only be accounted for (which will hereafter appear) on the probable theory of promoting unity in a divided Christendom. The proposal then to strike out the title "Protestant Episcopal," which is the official designation of the Church, has created no little controversy between promoters and obstructionists to the well-being of the Church. That the Church has tenaciously clung to Episcopacy through all the periods of her troubled history no one can doubt, but that Protestant is part of her ancient heritage, we are persuaded, after examination, all will emphatically resent. The present inquiry will be an attempt to show what Protestant means, and to trace it briefly through the various phases of Continental and Anglican history, to prove that the Church and Protestantism have never had

anything in common, and therefore the introduction of the term into the Church, in 1780, must have been suggested by personal or political motives. We have heard it advocated that Protestant means reformed, and that the Church of England, from which we derived our ministry, is Protestant, according to the order and discipline of the primitive Church. If Protestantism had the support of antiquity, it would have been a veritable triumph long ago, but the theory which takes its stand upon the infallibility of private judgment is doomed to failure, because it has no warrant in Scripture canon, which says: "Thus saith the Lord." Protestantism, in its essence, is democratic, which maintains that the ultimate source of authority is vested in the people, every man being a law unto himself, to preach the Word, and administer the Sacraments, which insinuatingly undermines the priesthood of Christ, and which eventually means the total destruction of Christianity. The word Protestant has been associated with anarchy, and various forms of error, from the beginning, and, in later years, it has been claimed as the peculiar heritage of the propagandists of free thought. The word, in a purely literary sense, is negative, and as a title to a corporate body, professing veneration for Catholic principles and Apostolic practice, stands for an idea that it cannot possibly represent.

Back of the whole question lies the historic argu-

ment, and it is worse than useless to attempt to obliterate, or even try to silence, the history of the past, by discrediting and discouraging all argument in favor of historical continuity; as the love of study and research are gradually awakening the thinking masses to a fuller realization of the fact, that a church without antecedents is a church without authority, and hence it follows that the society which can trace its lineage back to the origin of all ministry, can pre-eminently claim to speak with Divine authority as the *sine qua non* of orthodox Christianity. The name Protestant was introduced into the American Church, which was formerly the "Church of England in the Colonies," in 1780, without any discussion or legislation whatever, and now for the sake of truth, it would seem most reasonable to fall back upon the title "The Church" of the country, for which we have both Scripture, and historic precedent. The present title is not only cumbersome, but misleading, and we have no just cause, as honest defenders of Divine truth, to label our doctrines with the brand of error. If some of our quotations which are immediately to follow seem to be superfluous, it is because we wish to be fair in presenting the whole case, in order to show that Protestant, in name and thing, has never had more than a tacit acceptance, and that the protesters at Spires never thought of basing their insubordinate action on any precedent whatever.

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THE WORD PROTESTANT.

CHAPTER I.

IN LITERATURE.

The Hebrew word עִוֵּד, protest, is an active verb, the hiphil of which is causative in relationship, and to the Semitic mind bore the declarative signification.

I. It means, to take as a witness, to call any one to witness, to invoke, Deut. iv. 26 and xxx. 19.

II. To testify, to bear witness, Absol. Amos iii. 13; against any one, 1 Kings xxi. 10; for any one, i. e. in his favor, Job xxix. 11; hence (*a*) to obtest, i. e. to affirm solemnly, to affirm, calling God to witness, Gen. xliii. 3. The man did solemnly affirm unto us, Deut. viii. 9; (*b*) to admonish solemnly, followed by an Acc. Lam. ii. 13; Ps. l. 7; Jer. vi. 10; especially to chastise, to chide, Neh. xiii. 15; (*c*) solemnly to enjoin; hence used of any law given by God, 2 Kings, xvii. 15; his precepts which he had given them, Neh. ix. 34.[1]

1 Samuel viii. 9. Howbeit yet protest solemnly unto them, and shew them, etc.

[1] Gesenius's Hebrew Grammar and Lexicon.

1 Kings ii. 42. Protested unto thee, saying, etc.

Jer. xi. 7. For I earnestly protested unto your fathers . . . rising early and protesting.

Zech. iii. 3. And the Angel of the Lord protested unto Joshua.

The use of the word νὴ, to protest, in the New Testament occurs in 1 Cor. xv. 31 and is translated into the corresponding Latin propter. The particle νὴ was common to the Attic Greek and is as old as Pindar, 521–441 B. C., Herodotus, 448–408 B. C., or the Tragedians. It was commonly employed in affirmations and oaths, and joined to an accusative of the persons (for the most part a Divinity) or the thing affirmed or sworn by. St. Paul was familiar with Greek literature, and his use of the word in this instance was diplomatic, to say the least. The Corinthians seemed to have interpreted his references to the Resurrection by the prevailing Platonism, which limited all happiness to a merely temporary existence, and St. Paul wrote that he protested or swore by their rejoicing over their conversion, which he equally experienced, but his glorying went deeper, and contemplated an eternity, to which he could attest by his daily dying, suffering, and sacrifice.

The Latin translators of the New Testament rendered νὴ into propter, a contraction of propiter, which itself comes from prope, meaning near, hard by, at

hand. The translators gave the figurative meaning to the word, in which sense it was classical and common as the following examples will show.

In stating a cause. I., on account of, by reason of, from, for, because of. Cicero's (43 B. C.) Paradoxa 5, 1, parere legibus propter metum, or Cæsar's (44 B. C.) Bellum Gallicum ; propter frigora frumenta in agris matura non erant. Laberius (60 B. C.) ap. Non. 53, 26, propter viam fit sacrificium quod est proficiscendi gratia, to sacrifice on account of a journey. Palladius (210 A. D.), propter injuriam, to avoid injury. II. By means of, through, (*a*) referring to persons in whom lies the cause of a thing; Cicero's oratio pro Milone, propter quos vivit ; through whom he lives, to whom he owes life, (*b*) referring to things by means of which anything takes place, Varro (26 B. C.) De Re Rustica 3, 2, 11, quid enim refert, utrum propter ores, an propter aves frustus capias ? Virgilius (17 B. C.) Æ. 12, 177, quam propter tantos potui perferre labores.

Νὴ is also used in the Septuagint, Gen. xlii. 15, 16 (by the life of Pharaoh), which is rendered by per in the Latin Vulgate. Granting for the sake of argument that the word "protest" on the lips of Hebrew Prophets, or the Apostle St. Paul, is to be interpreted in an affirmative sense, it would have no bearing upon the modern philology of the word, as Hebrew and Greek were comparatively unknown to

theologians, much less the laity of Germany, when the negative substantive came into existence.

The word Protestor is post Augustan (430 A. D.), and as used by the ecclesiastical historian Cassiodorus (562 A. D.) 5, 42, and others, is derived from Pro, no, and testor; to declare publicly, to bear witness, testify, protest.

(*a*) With simple accusative, Macrobius (395 A. D.), Saturnalia 1–17 fin. Floris species florem rerum protestantur.

(*b*) With relative clause, Fronto (160 A. D.), de Nep. quæ mihi conscius sum protestabor.

(*c*) With Abl. Appuleius (163 A. D.) Metamorphoses, 10, Mulier magno fidem præsidis protestata clamore.

(*d*) With objective clause, Ulpianus (230 A.D.), Dig. 11, 7, 14 quippe protestantur, pietatis gratia idse faceer.

The following definitions are quoted literally from Du Cange's Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis.[1]

PROTESTA, Italis est contestata denunciatio, Gall. Protestation. Statuta Vercell. lib. 4. fol. 7. "Item quod si aliquis servitor fecerit aliquam falsam Protestam, vel aliquod aliud falsum commiserit in suo officio servitorie exercendo, suspendatur per linguam cum uno hamo ferreo in publica concione." Vide Protestatio.

PROTESTANTES dicti primum Lutherani, cum ann.

[1] Paris, 1734.

1529. in comitiis Spirensibus adversus novum decretum, in Religionis negotio, ab iis exhibita est Protestatio ; quod nomen et Calvini discipulis subinde inditum est. Vide Sleidani Comment. lib. 6. et Hofmanni Lexicon.

PROTESTARI, contestato denunciare, testificari, Protester. Litteræ Bonifacii VIII. pp. in Chr. Angl. Th. Otterbourne, p. 92. "Palam Protestatus est, quod pro regno ipso tibi fidelitatem præstare seu facere aliquatenus non debeat, etc." Charta ann. 1304. in Maceriis Insulæ Barbaræ, tom. 1. p. 194. "Protestantes tamen et dicentes se dictum hommagium facere et recognitionem juxta formam et conventionem contentam in Charta facta manu Raimundi Meliani Notarii, in qua Protestati fuerunt fore salvum jus curiæ et ipsorum."

PROTESTARI, nude pro Attestari. Bulla Cælestini iii. pp. ann. 1191. inter Instrum. tom. 6. Gall. Christ. novæ Edit. Col. 49. "Quod episcoporum mutationes, utilitatis, vel necessitatis, causa, possint auctoritate apostolica licite fieri, tam canonum statuta, quam antiqua sanctorum patrum exempla manifestius Protestantur."

PROTESTATIO, ut supra Protesta. Statutum Comitis Provinciæ de officio tabellionum ann. 1254. Ex. Cod. MS. D. Brunet, fol. 60. "De Protestatione qualibet et qualibet exceptione ponenda in Cartulario," 1. den. detur. Laur. Byzyn. de Bello Hussit.

apud Ludewig. tom. 6. Reliq. MSS. p. 127. "Primum in Praga intimationibus et Protestationibus publicis factis," etc. Chron. Angl. Th. Otterbourne, p. 185. facta prius Protestatione, quod ad hoc concedendum Regi non tenebantur ex stricto jure, sed affectione solummodo sui Regis.

PROTESTUM, vox negotiatorum, Gall. Protêt, Contestata denunciatio. Statuta Genuens. lib. 4. cap. 14, p. 115. "Qui voluerit cambia, seu tractas sibi factas solvere supra Protestum, ad hoc ut retineat obligatum eum, qui traxit, seu qui mandavit pecunias, seu cambium solvi, teneatur in illis locis, in quibus solutiones cambiorum habent sua tempora præfixa, facere declarationem in actis notarii coram testibus infra horas viginti quatuor, post præsentationem litterarum cambii, sicuti acceptat talem tractam supra Protestum."

In the year 1749, Jo. Matt. Gesner, published his Novus Linguæ Latinæ Thesaurus at Leipzig, from which I quote the following:—

PROTESTOR, ari. Palam testari. Imp. Justin, Instit. pr. "Bellicos sudores nostros tam Africa, quam aliæ innumeræ provinciæ iterum ditioni Romanæ nostroque additæ imperio protestantur." Conf. 7. fin. de Institor. Act. Quinctil. Decl. 4 extr.: Prædico, protestor, non ego parricidium faciam.

Du Cange as a lexicographer, is regarded by all scholars as the best authority for Mediæval Latin,

and it will be noted that in every case he cites, Protestari has the negative signification, implying a formal declaration against some act or course of action.

This disquisition upon the classical and ecclesiastical uses of the word Protest, would not be complete without some reference to the modern use of the word. I have placed the word, used as a verb, and as a noun, in opposing columns to show the meaning it conveyed to the various authors.

THE VERB PROTEST.[1]

French Protester Spanish and Pg. protestar.

Italian Protestare. Latin protestari, protestare, declare in public, bear witnesss.

I. Transitive.—1. To make a solemn declaration or affirmation of ; bear witness or testimony to ; assert ; asseverate ; declare ; as, to protest one's innocence—

Verily, he [Dr. Barnes] protested openly at St. Mary's Spital. Coverdale Remains," p. 341.

To think upon her woes I do protest that I have wept.

Shak., T. G. of V. iv., 4, 149.

Their own guilty carriage protests they doe feare.

Milton, Ch.-Govt. i. 5.

THE NOUN PROTEST.

Middle English, protest. Old French, protest.

French, protet, m.

Dutch, German, Swedish, Danish, } Fr. proteste, fem. protest.

Spanish, protesta.

Portuguese and Italian, protesto.

Middle Latin, protestum ; a protest (mostly in the commercial sense) ; from the verb.

1. The act of protesting, or that which is protested ; an affirmation ; asseveration ; protestation ; now restricted for the most part to a solemn or formal declaration against some act or course of action, by which a person declares (and sometimes has his declaration re-

[1] The Century Dictionary.

THE VERB PROTEST.—*Cont.*

"I protest, Charles," cried my wife, etc.

Goldsmith, Vicar, v.

2. To call as a witness in affirming or denying, or to prove an affirmation; appeal to (Rare).

Fiercely opposed
My journey strange, with clamorous uproar.
Protesting fate supreme.

Milton, P. L. x. 480.

3. To declare publicly; publish; make known.

Do me right, or I will protest your cowardice, etc.

Shak., Much Ado, v. 1, 49.

Thou wouldst not willingly live a protested coward.

Beau & Fl., Little Fr. Lawyer, i. 1.

4. To promise solemnly; vow.

On Diana's altar to protest for aye austerity, etc.

Shak., M. N. D. i. 1, 89.

5. To declare formally to be insufficiently provided for by deposit or payment; said of a note or bill of exchange, and also, figuratively, of personal credit, statements, etc.

Turn country bankrupt
In mine own town upon the market day

THE NOUN PROTEST.—*Cont.*

corded) that he refuses, or only conditionally yields, his consent to some act to which he might otherwise be assumed to have yielded an unconditional assent; as, to submit under protest; a protest against the action of a committee.

Swear me, Kate, like a lady as thou art, a good mouth-filling oath, and leave "in sooth," and such protest of pepper-gingerbread, to velvet guards.

Shak., 1 Hen. IV., iii. 1, 260.

He [Spenser] is a standing protest against the tyranny of Commonplace.

Lowell, Among my Books, 2d Ser., p. 199.

He took away the reproach of silent consent that would otherwise have lain against the indignant minority, by uttering, in the hour and place wherein these outrages were done, the stern protest.

Emerson, Theo. Parker.

Two protests of peers against the proceedings of the ministers were expunged from the records of the House of Lords.

Lecky, Eng. in XVIII. Cent. i.

2. In Law: (*a*) In a popular sense, all the steps taken to fix

THE VERB PROTEST.—*Cont.*

And be protested for my butter and eggs, etc.

B. Jonson, New Inn. i. 1.

The bill lies for payment . . . and if not taken up this afternoon will be protested.

Colman, The Spleen. (Davies).

"I said—I did nothing,' cried Lady Cecilia . . . An appealing look to heaven was however protested, etc.

Miss Edgeworth, Helen vi. (Davies).

The moral market had the usual chills

Of Virtue suffering from protested bills.—O. W. Holmes, The Banker's Dinner.

SYNONYMS.

Assert: Supports one's cause aggressively, as assert yourself; but it seems to expect doubt or contradiction of what one says.

Affirm: Strengthens a statement, but the affirmation is wholly dependent upon the utterer's veracity.

Declare: Makes emphatic against contradiction.

Aver: Is positive and peremptory.

Asseverate: Is positive and solemn.

Protest differs from the words

THE NOUN PROTEST.—*Cont.*

the liability of a drawer or indorser of commercial paper when the paper is dishonored. (*b*) Technically, the solemn declaration on the part of the holder of a bill or note against any loss to be sustained by him by reason of the non-acceptance or non-payment, as the case may be, of the bill or note in question and the calling of a notary to witness that due steps have been taken to prevent such loss (*c*) The document authenticating this act. (*d*) A written declaration, usually by the master of a ship, attested by a justice of the peace or a consul, stating the circumstances under which any injury has happened to the ship or cargo, or other circumstances calculated to affect the liability of the owners, officers, crew, etc.

Acceptance supra protest, is acceptance by some third person, after protest for non-acceptance by the drawee, with the view of saving the honor of the drawer or of some particular indorser.

Acceptor supra protest, a person, not a party to a bill of exchange, which has been protested, who accepts it for the honor of the drawer or of an indorser, thereby agreeing to pay it, if the drawee does not.

THE VERB PROTEST.—*Cont.*

compared under assert (aver, asseverate), in being more solemn and earnest, and in implying more of previous contradiction or expectation of contradiction, like them, it is used to make the statement seem certainly true.

II. Intransitive.—1. To bear testimony; affirm with solemnity; make a solemn declaration of a fact or an opinion; asseverate.

Gen. xliii. 3.

The lady doth protest too much methinks.

Shak., Hamlet, iii. 2, 240.

THE VERB PROTEST.—*Cont.*

2. To make a solemn or formal declaration in condemnation of an act or measure proposed or accomplished; often with against.

1 Saml. viii. 9.

When they say the bishops did protest, it was only dissenting and that in case of the Pope.

Selden, Table Talk, p. 68.

Warham, as an old lawyer, protested in a formal document against all legislation which might be enacted against Eccl. or Papal power.

Stubbs, Med. & Mod. Hist. p. 279.

It is most evident from the context, that every reference to the word "protest," however obscure to the uninitiated and indifferent in weighing definitions, literally conveys to the judicious mind, the negative qualification, which involves the idea of denial.

CHAPTER II.

LIGHT IN DARKNESS.

THE history of Protestantism belongs to the sixteenth century, and in order to have some intelligent idea of the religious conflict, it will be necessary for us to review very briefly the conditions which brought about such varied and unexpected results. The ages that have usually been styled dark, to the utter neglect of history, omit to mention the obligations to which the world in general is under to the monastery. From the days of Anthony, that part of the visible church, for the most part enclosed within stone walls, preserved to us the rudiments of our modern learning, and especially the Sacred Scriptures, which are now, and have been since printing made them known, the glory of our inheritance, the foundation of our ideals of civilization. The Dark Ages produced as great theologians, as great statesmen, as great lawyers, as great poets and as great painters, as any other period since. Without our modern processes of multiplying books, education was necessarily circumscribed; the multitude remained in ignorance, and therefore superstitious. With the same human nature to contend

with, the only mystery is—why Christianity had not utterly perished? Surely as we read the record of those dreary ages, the existing church must even then have had something of the Divine about it, to have survived it all. The monasteries of the Middle Ages were the magazines of literature, and the repositories of science. We are indebted to the monks for making known to the world, the lives and writings of Alexander, Cæsar, Homer, Virgil, Cicero, Tacitus, Plato, and Demosthenes. We are indebted to them for the inception and development of art, for their unwearied industry in preserving to us the records of contemporary events, the writings of the Ancient Fathers, and above all the Sacred Scriptures by transcription, with their valuable commentaries; the schools they founded over Western Europe, and the millions of idle and distressed they ministered to, speak volumes for their liberal and habitual charity. In the sixth century the monks numbered about 3,000, and as time went on, they grew in influence and power, and dispersed themselves over the whole of northwestern Europe. The golden-mouthed Chrysostom persuaded them that they were the "Elect," and hence the "vow of poverty" soon became the talisman of sanctity. As men inheriting traditions of the ancient Cœnobites and Anchorites, voluntarily choosing the life of celibacy, and withdrawal from all episcopal oversight, it is

quite easy to understand the steps which led to disruption and decay. The beginning of the thirteenth century witnessed the introduction of a new fraternity founded upon sterner principles than was ever exacted before, the chief of which was abject poverty. Francis of Assisi, the founder of the Franciscans, who was known as the prince of beggars, would not even allow his companions the possession of a book. Francis palmed off the deception of the Sacred Stigmata upon the Church, and Pope Benedict XII. ordered a commemorative festival in honor of the event, and four years after his death, which occurred in 1226, he was canonized by Gregory IX. Long before the Reformation the Roman calendar was filled with suspicious saints, and the Breviary was crowded full of legends as monstrous as they are ridiculous to modern ears. The Franciscan order became very popular, and like the Dominicans, a rival organization of the same period, was permitted by the Popes to sell indulgences for their support. Innocent III. thought they were admirably calculated to meet the peculiar exigencies of the Church, and they grew to such colossal proportions that they soon dominated Popes and Councils. They were a distinct caste, and in many ways antagonistic to the Church. The universities of Paris and Oxford at one time combined in their efforts to suppress them. Many of the monks aspired to sainthood; they starved

themselves, suffered all kinds of hardships, flagellations, shut themselves up in cells, in the enthusiastic expectation of divine light, or the prospect of attaining eminent rank amongst the heroes of the Church. Their whole system, like much that is in modern sectarianism, was a perverted moral régime, as they allowed fanaticism to usurp supreme sway over the human mind. They taught that every indulgence was criminal, that every gratification of the senses, however innocent, was injurious to the soul, that the ties of human affection weaned the heart from God, that the duties of social life must be abandoned by those who had any regard for their salvation, and, just in proportion as one inflicted privations and heaped torments upon himself, he pleased his Creator. Beggary was their boast, and they became a set of peripatetic ecclesiastics, who imagined themselves illuminated with an aureole of sanctity. Princes bestowed privileges upon them, and gave them large benefactions, which soon led to decay of discipline. At length schism entered the order, the chief wing of which still submitted to the Pope, the other, deciding against his authority, were known as anti-Franciscans, who soon became subdivided into Fratricelli or Minorites, the Tertiaries or Beghards, and the Spirituals. Contemporary with the Franciscan Order was another order of teaching and preaching friars founded by Dominic de Guzman,

who laid themselves out to convert heretics. Antipathies and jealousies existed between monks, friars, and clergy throughout the Middle Ages, but they were a unit in acknowledging the Bishop of Rome to be the spiritual head of Christendom. As the Cæsarean succession waned, the Petrine succession gradually and naturally took its place, and to establish the claim with some formal show of legality the "decretals" were invented to bolster up the inherent supremacy of spiritual power which first made the Pope suzerain of all Church property throughout the world, and as a precedent was eventually applied to all temporal affairs, which first reached its height in the time of Innocent III. (1198–1216). The universities of Paris and Oxford were great intellectual centers during the Middle Ages. The Sorbonne of Paris was the center around which the Church of France revolved, and previous to the Reformation was the theological oracle of Europe.

In 1491 the Sorbonne and Parlement united in defying an excommunication, and eleven years afterwards the resolution was repeated. In the sixteenth century, however, the Gallicanism of France became Erastian. It was the Authority of Paris, and not the Scriptures, that Luther first pitted against Rome. The Pope's militia, the friars, under the canon of obedience, were everywhere carrying out his will. They intruded into parishes, and persuaded the peo-

ple that they were better guides in the discharge of their duty than the parochial clergy, hence disorder and immorality increased. John Wiclif denounced the friars as the pest of society, and the enemies to truth. The spirit of inquiry and research had long taken hold of the minds of men within and without the Church. Dante had more than one object in writing his immortal poem. The council assembled at Constance, in 1414, where such men as Peter d'Ailly, Cardinal Zarabella, Robert Hallam and John Gerson represented the Church, were of one mind as to the great need of moral regeneration, and civil and ecclesiastical reform, but their efforts were overruled in much the same way as the reforming minority was forestalled, in the following century, at the Council of Trent. It is not too much to say, that the religious thought of Europe was in a state of fermentation at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The repelling of the Turk served for a time to reunite the Christian brotherhood, that seemed to be fast disintegrating; and if the Church had then been inspired with the serpentine wisdom which was her heritage, she would at once have abandoned a position founded upon the imaginary dreams of emperors and princes of an imposing universal dominion, to make Christians by coercion, and officered by a head claiming infallibility alone, which the new era of research, and the making and unmak-

ing of Popes during the later years of the fifteenth century showed clearly to the world to be, not only a hopeless impossibility, but a senseless usurpation. Just before the Reformation there was, with few exceptions, an almost complete abandonment in equity in ecclesiastical judgments. Error had smothered the genuine dogmas of the Church. Learning in sacred literature was practically a dead letter. The high class layman had long been jealous of ecclesiastics. Moral discipline had lapsed, and the immorality of the clergy was pronounced in many places, although it is the greatest libel to accuse them of ignorance as to what piety was. The downfall of the clergy can easily be traced to the study of Philosophy and Metaphysics, which in its earlier stages was wholly subservient to Theology, but eventually it prevailed, and settled the dogma of Transubstantiation upon the Church in 1215. Nothing short of bigotry or wickedness would fasten the charge of ignorance upon the clergy of the Middle Ages, and although it has only an indirect bearing upon my subject, I will deviate somewhat in order to have a broader conception of the assertion. In England the sixth canon of Cloveshou in 747 enacts: "that the Bishops shall ordain no man, either as clerk or monk, to the holy degree of priesthood without public inquiry as to his previous life, and his present purity of morals and knowledge of the faith. For

how can he preach to others the whole faith, minister the word of knowledge, and appoint to sinners the measure of penance, unless he first, with studious care, according to the measure of his capacity, takes pains to learn, so that according to the Apostle, he may be able to exhort according to sound doctrine."

Charlemagne in his capitulary addressed to the ecclesiastical authorities in 789 A. D., says: "We beseech your piety, that the ministers of God's altar may adorn their ministry by good morals—whether as canons, by the observance of their order, or, as monks, by the performance of their vow—we entreat that they may maintain a good and laudable life and conversation, as our Lord in the Gospel commands, Let your light so shine before men," etc.

Again in the Capitula data Presbyteris, in the year 804, he says: "I would admonish you, my brethren and sons, to give attention to these few capitula which follow:—

I. That a priest of God should be learned in the Holy Scripture, and rightly believe and teach to others the faith of the Trinity, and be able properly to fill his office.

II. That he should have the whole psalter by heart.

III. That he should know by heart the creed and the office for baptism.

IV. That he should be learned in the canons and well know his penitential.

V. That he should know the chants and the calendar.

Raban Maurus, in his book "De Institutione Clericorum," 819, says: "That the canons and decrees of Pope Zosimus have decided, that a clerk proceeding to Holy Orders shall continue five years among the readers, or exorcists; and after that, shall be an acolyte or subdeacon, four years. That he shall not be admitted to Deacon's orders before he is twenty-five years of age, and that if, during five years, he ministers irreproachably, he may be promoted to Priest's orders; but on no account before he is thirty years of age, even though he should be peculiarly qualified, for our Lord Himself did not begin to preach until He had attained that age." [1]

The constitutions of Reculfus, Bishop of Soissons, 889 A. D., to his clergy, said:—"Know, therefore, that this is addressed to you, 'Be ye clean, ye that bear the vessels of the Lord,' which you must not suppose to refer only to the cleansing of the chalice and paten, wherein the body and blood of Christ is consecrated, but also to preach cleanliness and mental purity," etc. If we were called upon to compare libraries of the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries, we must admit that the latter excels in quantity, but if

[1] Lib. i-c. xiii. Ap. Bib. Pat. tom. x. 572.

quality was under examination, we are quite sure that for high thinking and solid worth the Middle Age library would eclipse the ordinary modern collection. If one would take the pains to look into the life and work of St. Ninian, St. Mungo, St. Benedict, St. Columba, St. Aidan, St. Chad, The Venerable Bede, St. Cuthbert, St. Meinrad, the Monk of the Alps, St. Dunstan, Abelard of Cluny, the monasteries of Croyland, St. Denis, Bec, or Vallambrosa, not to say anything of the great schoolmen of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, such as Alexander Hales, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, Roger Bacon, Ægidius de Columna, John Duns Scotus, Durand, W. Occham, Walter Burley, and Raymond Lully, he would at once suspect that ignorance on the part of monk or priest throughout the Middle Ages was the exception. I have before me a list of Thomas Cranmer's Books, Archbishop of Canterbury (1489–1556) and of Bilibald Pirkheimer of Nuremberg (1470–1530). Cranmer's library contains 42 MSS., containing 93 separate works, and 369 printed volumes, containing 355 works. The greater part of this library is made up of biblical, theological, and liturgical works. Pirkheimer's library was collected about 1490, and the partial list of 111 volumes is chiefly made up of classics, canon law, and the Fathers.[1]

Before the end of the Middle Ages England had 95

[1] Dict. of Book Collectors, 1892.

colleges and schools; 259 were established before 1546, and 132 of these foundations of learning are still in existence. Christ Church, Canterbury, had 3,000 volumes in its library at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The catalogue made of the Glastonbury library in 1247 shows that the monks had then 400 volumes. The Middle Age list of Peterborough books printed by Gunton comprises some 1,700 works in 268 volumes. As to literature, Italy can boast of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Politiano, Pulci, Boiardo, Ariosto, Alamanni, Tasso, Trissino, Rucellai, Sanazzaro, Berni, Machiavelli, Aretino and Giovanni, Lorenzo, and Cosmo de' Medici. Cosmo de' Medici, the great collector of Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Arabic MSS., laid the foundation of two libraries in Florence. Pope Nicholas V., the founder of the Vatican library, invited the Greek scholars Chrysoloras, Bessario, Gaza, and Argyropulos to Rome to help revive the love of study in the Italian court, and very soon the whole of Italy thrilled with the spirit of inquiry and research. The literary characters of England are legion. Amongst those not already named might be mentioned Beauclerc, Simon de Montfort, Edward I., Grosseteste, Theobald, Langton, Vacarius, Gervase, Hugh of Lincoln, Theodore, Giraldus Cambrensis, Wilfrid, John of Salisbury, Thomas Becket, Jocelin, Peter of Blois, Robert Pullus, Roger of

Hovenden, Alcuin, Glanville, Walter Map, Linacre, Langfranc, Anselm, Grocyn, Hearne, Dugdale, Caxton, Erasmus, Colet, and More. It is to the Dark Ages that students of art, architecture, and painting turn for light. When we consider that painters must be students of history, and the preponderance of subjects being sacred characters, it would surely be absurd to affirm that religion was either dead or dying in the Middle Ages. Italy was especially fortunate with great artists, a few of which are, Cimabue and Buffalmacco (1302), Brunelleschi and Donato (1400), Aretino (1408), Raphael (1450), Giovanni Angelico the Friar (1455), Ghiberti (1455), Francia (1470), Uccelo (1472), Grosso (1488), Michael Angelo (1495), Leonardo da Vinci (1497), Pinturicchio (1513), Monsignori (1519), Torrigiano (1522), Andrea del Sarto (1529), Correggio (1534). As Spain was the greatest power in Europe at the end of the middle ages, it necessarily deserves some notice. Spanish literature received its impetus from Italy. Beginning with the thirteenth century, we have the poem of the Cid, the old ballads, the old historical poems, the old chronicles, and the old theater which forms the main elements of a distinctively national poetry. While there is little chronicled in these poems other than the deeds of chivalry and romance, there is something about them that is striking and original. Germany is less fortunate in this respect, her early

ballads being wholly given over to romance until the end of the thirteenth century. The earliest MSS. dating from the fourteenth century contains the poems of 140 minnesingers or wandering minstrels, made up of pictures of the knightly life of the times. Reinmar of Zweter, Walter of the Vogelweid, the greatest lyric poet before Goethe, Tannhäuser, the Nebelungenlied, Wolfdietrich and Gudrun, Henry of Valdecke, Godfrey of Strassburg, and Wolfram of Eschenbach in his Holy Grail, are the classics until the beginning of the fourteenth century, about which time the monks, friars, inquisitors, and legates superseded the spirit of German romance by asceticism, which entirely changed the current of men's thoughts. In making this statement I am not unmindful of the spasmodic attempts that had been made by Gaulish monks and missionaries to carry the Gospel to their ancestors upon the Rhine. Lupus visited the Rhine in the fifth century, St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, in the eighth, and Ansgar and Bruno did much for sections of Germany after it became a distinct nation.

It is commonly understood, and in fact writers who call themselves historians, constantly repeat that the Bible was not known in the Middle Ages. This is an old fiction first published by D'Aubigné, wherein he gives an account of Luther's finding the Bible at Erfurt in 1503. He goes on to state that after the

young student had been at the university two years, he was looking over the books in the library one day, when he came across a volume that arrests his attention. He has seen nothing like it to this moment. He reads the title. It is a Bible; a rare book, unknown in those days; he is overcome with wonder at finding more in the volume than those fragments of the Gospels and Epistles made familiar to him in his breviary. Elsewhere this author has told us in his history that Luther's father rose from humble circumstances to be a man of means, and frequently invited clergy and schoolmasters to his table. Whatever the influence, he tells us that the boy's mind having taken a grave and attentive cast, the father determined to send him to school, where he was undoubtedly taught the Catechism, Commandments, Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Canticles. He was sent to the Latin school of Mansfield, next to Magdeburg, then to Isenach, and finally to the University of Erfurt, where he found the Bible. Luther became an Augustinian friar in 1505 and was ordained to the priesthood the following year. In 1508 he was appointed lecturer of philosophy at the newly-founded school of Wittenberg. In 1509 he took his B. D., and in 1512 began to preach the Word of God, from which time he bent his energies to overthrow scholasticism, by attacking the theory of penances and superabundant merits. In this he was simply follow-

ing in the steps of many schoolmen before him. He still continued to have the deepest reverence for the Church and her institutions as the depository of Divine authority. It is indeed very strange that Luther, a professed philosopher, familiar with the writings of Occham, Scot, Bonaventura, and Thomas Aquinas, should not have heard of the Bible. There had been a printing-press set up in the town of Erfurt before Luther was born. In 1497 Le Long gives an account of editions of the whole Bible printed at Strassburg, Cologne, Venice, Paris, and Nuremberg. The Bible had been printed at Naples, Florence, Placenza, and Venice where eleven complete editions had been finished alone. Maitland in his history of the Dark Ages says: "It would be within the bounds of truth to assert, that the press had issued fifty different editions of the whole Latin Bible, to say nothing of Psalters and New Testaments, (twenty alone belonging to Germany), before Luther was born. A printing press had also been set up at Rome, and the printers had the assurance to memorialize his holiness the Pope, praying that he would help them off with a few copies.

CHAPTER III.

THE GERMAN REVOLT.

To return once more to our argument of cause and effect, we must remember that mysticism was the rival of scholasticism throughout the stormy period of the Middle Ages. The love of the marvelpus came from the East through Dionysius who had embraced the tenets of Theosophy. It was Johannes Scotus Erigena who first applied cold and exact logic to religion in the ninth century and the monks and clerks who were discomforted because they failed in analyzing or expressing the mysteries of Divine truth, turned to the extreme of contemplation which they believed would lead to perfect holiness and spiritual knowledge. There were many efforts made throughout the Middle Ages to reconcile these contending elements of the heart and brain. The principles of mysticism foster the self-deifying tendency, which ultimately discovers the soul to be of one substance with God. Mysticism degrades reason and destroys morality. It found its way into Germany in the fourteenth century and through the cloistral labors of her more industrious students developed a highly

organized religious theosophy. The only parallel to mediæval mysticism is to be found in modern Methodism and other sects who advocate a sensible instantaneous conversion. Mysticism reveals the innate desire for apprehending God, but as this faculty is a gift, it therein fails to propagate and perpetuate itself. It has no genealogy. Mysticism taught that religion was intensely personal and individual, bringing the soul face to face with God, without any intermediary. which accords with the subjective principle of Protestantism. Such were Tauler and Thomas à Kempis, who were thoughtful, conscientious men, peering through the darkness for the light, striving to realize the truth. They had caught the spirit of the Renaissance and boldly preached reformation of life and manners. Previous to reformation there was a larger amount of truth with the mystics than any other party in the Church, but for lack of earthly wisdom which enables men to maintain an even balance, they degenerated and split off into sects, many of which held pantheistic and millennarian theories. Such were the Cathari, the Brethren of the Free Spirit, the Dancers, the Quietists, the Erastians, Socinians, and Bethlehemites who tried to realize under ascetic conditions some fixed standard of social purity. In their mistaken zeal, these sects and heretics left the Church, because of her alleged slowness in keeping pace with the Renaissance spirit

of independent inquiry, that was sweeping over Italy and the West.

The Waldenses or poor men of the valleys, started an independent movement, upon the principle of selfishness, in trying to realize a social ideal adapted to the wants and ambitions of the local peasantry. They seceded from all restraints of authority, translated the Scriptures into their native patois, and, like the Albigenses, their contemporaries, simply believed in a priesthood of all believers. They appealed to the Third Lateran Council, 1179 A. D., for liberty to expound the Scriptures. The concession could not be granted to such artless, unlettered rustics. John Wiclif, of England, embraced their socialistic theories, and attacked the Church on much the same lines. In the fourteenth century the classical learning of the East was making rapid strides in Italy, and its spirit was fast taking hold of the Church's thought and action. Lorenzo Valla (1440), the humanist, was the first critic to point out the weaknesses of the Latin Vulgate. For this he was censured, and the Roman Church moved to suppress individual criticism, lest the destructive influence should penetrate the mass, who were then unqualified to judge in matters of such deep concern. To Rudolph Agricola belongs the credit of planting the Greek and Hebrew learning in German soil, and the beginning of the fifteenth century witnessed the introduction of university life,

established principally on the Parisian model. The principal centers were Prague, Vienna, Erfurt, Heidelberg, Cologne, Leipzig, and Rostock, founded the first quarter of the fifteenth century. The course of instruction given at these centers was, after the manner of the old way of thinking, confined chiefly to dialectics. The schools that were established about the middle, and towards the close of the century, such as Schlettstadt, Munster, Amsterdam, Kempen, Alkmer, and Deventer; the Universities of Griefswalde (1456); Frieberg (1458); Basle, (1460); Ingolstadt and Trier (1472); Tübingen and Mainz (1477); Wittenberg, (1502), and Frankfort-on-the-Oder (1506), were the only centers that can in any sense be called the foundation-stones of Germany's intellectual structure. The new learning had not been adopted by any of those institutions on principle. It was scrutinized by the curious, and pondered over by individual theologians, who used it in their sermons as a leaven to move seared consciences that had long been dead to the privileges and responsibilities of the primitive Church. Agricola, whom we have already mentioned, was the pupil of Thomas à Kempis, the grave, religious humanist of his day. Reuchlin, at whose feet Melanchthon sat, was born in 1455. He was considered the greatest man that Germany ever produced; and Erasmus, his peer, was always considered "the

other eye of Germany." The study of the Greek developed new lines of thought, and deepened men's respect more and more for the faith of the Church. The new learning simply added strength to Erasmus' conviction (as was previously maintained by à Kempis), that theology still remained the "Queen of Sciences." Erasmus always believed in the dissolving power of learning, and felt that the much-needed reform could only come as the horizon of knowledge widened; but, like his co-laborers, Colet and More, believed the Church to be indefectible, and still possessing power to redeem herself, within and without. Erasmus, hoping that the revival of letters might end in something good, began at once upon his New Testament Commentary, which first appeared in 1505. This was the fountain from which Luther quaffed. When Erasmus had finished his Paraphrase, he began a translation of the Fathers, which furnished the weapons of controversy for our reformers, or, rather, restorers of the Church of England; but, happily, scholarship and discovery have long since enlarged our respect for those depositories of sacred and secular learning. During the first four years of Luther's appointment at the High School at Wittenberg, he conscientiously fulfilled his duties as a lecturer on Philosophy, and during the succeeding years he loses sympathy with the schoolmen, and begins to use his influence in the class-room and

pulpit to change the current of men's thoughts, although he still maintained the deepest respect and veneration for the Church of his fathers. Luther's suspicions regarding the antiquity of the Papacy, was by this time an established conviction, that the "Privilege of Peter" was a modern innovation, and when the Apostolic delegate offered his absolution briefs for sale in the Market Square of Wittenberg, after the fashion of earlier Crusading methods, his ire was aroused to challenge the legitimacy of the agent's action in raising money through flattery and deceit from the poor of his congregation. The more he looked into the system, the more he was convinced that it was dishonest to rob the poor for the aggrandizement of a bishop, who could, with some degree of truth, be called the fisherman's successor. But it was certain that Leo X. had notoriously reversed the axiom that the "Chiefest Apostle" had communicated to the poor of the temple gate. From this measure of self-protection initiated by Luther sprung up the hydra that finally ended in a general revolt against constituted authority. Luther repeatedly protested against the abuses of the questors, which eventually led to his famous protest of October, 1517, against the sale of indulgences. This was viewed at Rome as sufficient cause for excommunication, and the Bull was issued, which Luther burnt December 10th. On the 8th day of May, 1521,

Luther stood alone, in the Diet of Worms, a declared outlaw, under the ban of the Empire, and soon after retired to the Wartburg, where he began his hostile work. He was fully alive to the situation, and in the heat of passion he had already indited an address to the nobility which seethes with inflammatory invective and intolerance to the last degree. This argument to the pocket was the manifesto of the Reformation in Germany, and the newly-invented printing-press made it popular far beyond the bounds of personal influence. It was the spirit of this war-cry that encouraged the princes at Spires, who had dreams and visions of revenue, when they made their famous protest against the action of the loyal Church party who favored declaring the Diet of Worms conclusive. Luther's Babylonish Captivity had already appeared (October, 1520), and the Curia determined to show no mercy to the self-professed heretic. This work reached England in April of the following year, and by the 25th of August, Henry VIII., who was something of a theologian, had issued his rejoinder, for which the Pope felt so deeply indebted that he conferred upon him the title, "Fidei Defensor." From the Castle of the Wartburg letters were soon speeding to every quarter of Germany. The whole country was visibly agitated, Wittenberg being on the verge of revolt. Luther was a busy man—one day helping to quell a riot, the next trying to appease

the angry controversialists of Switzerland and Germany, and the conscious responsibility for the Peasants' war, which justified itself upon religious grounds, was cause to him for great anxiety. With it all, he steadily continued to make his new translation of the New Testament and Pentateuch into German. He held the Bible above all else, and to be the work of the Divine Spirit, but he did not hold this spirit captive to the letter. He did not hesitate to express his dislike for the Epistle of St. James, and the Revelation of St. John. He did not regard the Apocalypse as the work of an apostle. In his preface to the book, he says: "Some have concocted many ridiculous things out of their own heads." He claimed that there was no prophet in the Old or New Testament who deals so entirely in visions. I therefore put this book on a par with the "Apocalypse of Ezra," and I certainly cannot detect any trace of its having been inspired by the Holy Ghost.[1]

Melanchthon's digest of the doctrines of faith, as presented in the Scriptures appeared in 1521. Disintegration was fast going on within the Church. Disputations were frequent and tended to everything but peace. In 1524 the Landgrave Philip authorized the preaching of the Gospel throughout his territories, which was accomplished by ignorant fanatics who preached anarchy as the solvent for all present and

[1] Hagenbach's Hist. Reformation, I., p. 160.

future ills, and Lambert, a French reformer, appeared in Hesse in 1526. He held views similar to Luther's at first, but they gradually widened, until the Constitution and discipline of the Church was made to rest upon the broadest democratic platform. He contended that every individual church should have the right to choose its own pastor, to whom Episcopal authority should belong, there being no authority above that of pastors. He asserted that there was a double calling—the first being internal to the state of a Christian, and the second was external to the office and ministry of the Church, the latter being valueless without the former. Luther rested his cause upon the pure word of God being preached, but the Mass was to be continued in Latin, and due fasting enjoined upon the people, until occasion and circumstances demand something different.

On the twentieth Sunday after Trinity, 1525, the Lord's Supper was for the first time celebrated at Wittenberg in the German language. Shortly after this event, Luther brought out his German Mass (Missa Est), and in addressing his readers says:—"Above all things, I most affectionately, and for God's sake, beseech all who see or desire to deserve this, our order of Divine Service, on no account to make it a compulsory law, or to ensnare or captivate the conscience of any thereby, but to use it agreeably to Christian liberty and their good pleasure as

where, when, and as long as circumstances favor and demand it.[1]

Luther desired to retain the Mass for the love of the language of antiquity, as he says: "I am most deeply interested in your youth; and if the Greek and Hebrew tongues were as familiar to us as the Latin, and possessed as great store of fine music and song as that does, were I able to bring it about, Mass should be celebrated, and there should be singing and reading in our churches on alternate Sundays in all four languages, German, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew." A second form of service he proposed was the German Mass, "for the sake of simple laymen," and finally a third form of Divine Service was set forth to represent the true type of Evangelical order, for those who desire to be Christians in earnest, ready to profess the Gospel with hand and mouth. In this it was recommended that they should assemble frequently for prayer, to read, baptize, receive the Sacrament and practise Christian works. In this way he says:—Christians could be recognized, reproved, reformed, rejected or excommunicated in accordance with Christ's rule (St. Matt. xviii. 15 sqq.). Here we have the root idea of "Ecclesiola in Ecclesia." Luther frequently has misgivings as to the outcome of it all as "he says," the Germans are a savage, rude, tempestuous people, but he consoles himself

[1] Luther's Werke, Edit. by Walch, vol. x.

by thinking they are not lightly to be led into anything new, unless there be most urgent occasion.

In 1528 the visitation of the Saxon churches took place, and in the preface to the Smaller Catechism, then being introduced, he takes occasion to explain that, "many pastors are utterly unfit and incompetent to teach. And yet they are all called Christians, they are baptized and attend upon the holy Sacraments, they know neither 'Our Father,' nor 'the creed,' nor the 'ten commandments,' but live like cattle and irrational swine. Yet now that the Gospel has come, they have learned excellently well to make a masterly abuse of Christian liberty." [1]

In 1529 the Larger Catechism had been distributed amongst the more competent. In this work he regarded preaching as the greatest and most essential thing. He recommended the Gospels to be explained at week-day services, but on Sundays, he says, "we sanction the retention of the chasuble, crucifix, altar, and candles," which are used to this day throughout Protestant Germany. He laid great stress upon the continuance of the custom of elevating the bread and wine at the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and he also retained the *Sanctus*, but ordered it sung in German, which he set to music himself. In 1520 the 101 grievances against the Pope were considered.

[1] Hagenbach, ii. 9–18.

Great changes were taking place in the domain of politics, as the battle of Pavia almost brought the balance of power to the feet of Charles V., and he more than ever felt emboldened to root out the Lutheran heresy. The German Estates were reproved for not executing the provisions of the Edict of Worms, and appointed a convention of the Diet of Augsburg, January, 1526. This meeting adjourned, without effecting any special results, to meet again at Speier in the following May. The Diet was not opened until the 25th of June, when a letter from his Imperial Majesty Charles V. demanded the execution of the Edict of Worms. Mutterings were heard on every side, that the common people were already too well instructed to surrender themselves any longer with simple faith to the leading of others. Various conciliatory measures were proposed, as the cup to the laity, priestly marriages, diminution of fasts, etc., but no decision was reached. On the 27th of August an abstract of the proceedings were published which granted a temporary measure of toleration, which allowed the princes of the various provinces to manage their own ecclesiastical affairs. From this fundamental idea the principle of parity took root. Philip of Hesse took matters into his own hands, and availed himself of the assistance of the exiled Lambert. Ferdinand, the brother of Charles V., had just come into possession of the throne of Hun-

gary and Bohemia and at once published a severe edict against every departure from the Roman faith, which together with a "terrible secret" invented by one Otto von Pack, who offered to reveal the certain plot, entered into at Breslau for the surrender of Luther and all heretical preachers, to Philip of Hesse for 4,000 florins cash. These unfortunate measures only served to widen the breach that was fast separating clergy and laity. Even after Pack's invention was exposed and he was banished the country, Luther still had suspicions that there was some truth in the story. The whole of Germany was now clamoring for a council, and the Emperor called for a new Diet at Speier, which finally assembled the 15th of March, 1529. Frederick represented the absent emperor, and the Roman party, who had a distinct majority, resolved to annul the deliverance of the former Diet of 1526, whereupon the Elector of Saxony, the Elector of Brandenburg, the two Dukes of Luxemburg, Philip the landgrave of Hesse, the Prince of Anhalt and the deputies of fourteen cities of the Empire drew up a written protestation in the "Retscher Palace" against the alleged arbitrary decree, and their followers were ever after called "Protestants." It will be quite obvious from the foregoing that neither Scripture nor classics entered into the formal protest, which was purely local in character, and negative in action, just as we would pro-

test against an unjust act or repudiate an illegal claim. It was not so much the word itself as it was the action of the lay princes that influenced all future thought and method upon the continent. Protests were not uncommon. They had been known to churchmen throughout all the ages. The basic principle underlying the action of our primitive bishops in drawing up the Nicene definition of the faith, was intended to rebuke the errors of Arianism. The Athanasian creed likewise is an ancient protest against the Archheretics Arius, Sabellius, Nestorius, and Apollinaris who had endeavored in every way to stifle or contract the truth. The Gallican Church had protested frequently against the invasion of her liberties by the See of Rome. The cardinals themselves had solemnly protested against abuses of the Curia in 1297. In turning to England we can reasonably cite the Magna Charta as a declaration of the Church and Nation against oppression and selfishness. The State protested at Merton in 1236 against the intrusion of the Papal government at will and pleasure, and again in 1297 Parliament began in earnest to protest in the form of statutes against Papal lawlessness. Archbishop Chicheley protested against the decisions of Pope Martin V., Archbishop Cranmer standing at Christ Church gate, Oxford, 1536, uttered his memorable protest against the autocracy of the Pope to a general council, and Henry VIII., the most

Catholic prince in Christendom, protested against the Council of Mantua or Vicenza in 1538. Still, there was no thought in the mind of any churchman, expressed or implied, to create schism in the body of Christ. After 1529 Luther is no longer the leader of the Protestant Reformation in Germany. His temporizing methods were anomalous, and he graciously yielded of necessity to the impulses that his voice and pen had set in motion. Luther had already assumed power to place pastors over congregations, and these Gospel preachers were everywhere forced into churches without any ordination, by the Elector of Saxony and Philip of Hesse, and when Charles V. demanded at the Diet of Augsburg, 1530, that they should be silenced, the Princes answered "that they could not with a good conscience comply with the request of His Majesty." The principle of their defense was "that in matters of conscience, they, the minority, could submit themselves to no majority, but only the word of God." Luther's German Testament had been in circulation since 1522, and there was in consequence much expounding that went by the name of preaching that was nothing less than pure anarchy. The judicious Hooker in the opening words of his Ecclesiastical polity has declared a principle of universal application when he says, "He that goeth about to persuade a multitude that they are not so well governed as they

ought to be, shall never want attentive and favorable hearers."

By 1540 the breach in Germany was complete beyond recovery, and the minority is multiplied into a vast majority, with pastors and superintendents established in every province. The See of Naumburg fell vacant by the death of Bishop Philip, and the canons of the cathedral chapter regularly elected Julius von Pflug, but the Elector of Saxony would not recognize the choice, and, by virtue of his sovereign power, possessed himself of episcopal prerogatives and constituted "Nicholas Amsdorf," the superintendent of Magdeburg, administrator of spiritual affairs, with the title of bishop. The installation of Amsdorf took place on the 20th of January, 1542. Luther was named to perform the ordination, in which he was assisted by the pastors of Naumburg, Altenburg and Weissenfels. The ordination was very simple, and the canons were required to make oath that they would render obedience to the bishop in accordance with the Word of God and command of Christ. Such of the nobles as resisted had their estates confiscated, and one was cast into prison.[1]

Before proceeding, we must notice another Protestant named Zwingli, who said that he began to preach the Gospel in the year 1516, and, by way of

[1] Hagenbach Hist. Refn., vol. ii., p. 245.

pre-eminence, he asks: "Who called me Lutheran then? . . . I was ignorant of Luther's name for two years after I had made the Bible my sole treasury. . . . No man can esteem Luther more highly than I, nevertheless I testify before God and all mankind that I never in all my days wrote a syllable to him, nor he to me; nor have I caused any other to write for me." Luther and Zwingli had much in common, although they were by no means agreed as to faith and practise in religion. One quotation will serve to make my meaning clear as to Luther's opinion of Zwinglianism: "Blessed is the man that hath not stood in the council of the Sacramentarians, and hath not walked in the ways of the Zwinglians, nor sat in the seat of them at Zürich." Luther and Zwingli held like views on the theory of justification by faith alone, but differed widely on other things. Conclusions as to their divergent views can easily be arrived at by consulting their controversial writings and fixed standards of belief. In 1525, when the Eucharistic controversy began, Luther considered the Word and Sacraments the foundation pillars of the Church, and at this time had no desire to cut himself off from the universal Church. Infant baptism had already been attacked by the fanatics of Zwickau, who called it superstition and a "farce."

The Supper of the Lord was next, the fiercest quarter of attack being at Zürich. Luther and

Zwingli both repudiated the transubstantiation of the bread in the sense in which this was taught by the Roman Catholic Church. The battle waged long and furiously around the words "Hoc est corpus meum." Luther would not go to the extreme of making it a miracle, but he did assume a substantial (real) presence of the Lord's body in the bread after consecration, and it was a presence he could not understand, but which all must believe. This view he subsequently expressed in the familiar term of consubstantiation, "that the Body of the Lord was contained in, with, and under the bread, and that every one, even an unbelieving person, partook of this Body really and substantially." He held the same opinions in regard to the wine of the cup, and in support of his view appealed to the omnipotence of God. He centered his weight of argument upon the copula "est" from the words of institution, and in this particular erred by giving disproportionate emphasis and attaching the burden of proof to it. Zwingli attacked this position, and held that the word "is" could not have this literal meaning, and brought the Scriptures, which he knew to be full of pictorial expressions, rhetorical figures, similes, and metaphors, to his aid. When Christ says, "I am the vine," he does not mean that he is such in the natural sense of the word; and when he called Peter a rock, he did not mean that the Apostle, consisting of flesh and bone,

was a mere stone. He contended that the word "is," is employed many times in the Scriptures, and has the sense of signifies, as in the parable of the sower, "the seed signifies the Word of God." The fact remains that the Lord's Supper is designed to lead us from the visible to the invisible, and we may be assured that it was not without some design that Christ accompanied the giving of the bread to His disciples with the words, "Take, eat: this is my body," and Zwingli had no right to change the words "this is" into an absolute "this signifies." Luther and Zwingli were agreed in holding to the absolute supremacy of Scripture irrespective of Church authority. Luther held a tentative doctrine of the real presence, but Zwingli absolutely denied any presence whatever. As a recent writer and historian (Prof. Collins, King's Coll., London) has stated that the term Protestant properly belongs to those who profess the Augustan Confession, which was drawn up in June, 1530. It may not be amiss to quote from the Confession, and the Apology for the Confession of Augsburg, both written by Luther and Melanchthon, which succinctly express the Lutheran teaching on the Eucharist as it is held and professed to this day.

Confession of Augsburg, 1530.	Apology for the Confession 1531.
"Falso accusantur ecclesiæ nostræ, quod Missam aboleant,	"Initio hoc iterum præfandum est, nos non abolere Mis-

retinetur enim Missa apud nos, et summa reverentia celebratur, servantur et usitatæ ceremoniæ fere omnes . . . Itaque non videntur apud adversarios Missæ majore religione fieri quam apud nos."

"Our churches are falsely accused of abolishing the Mass, for the Mass is retained amongst us, and is celebrated with the greatest reverence, and nearly all the usual ceremonies are retained . . . therefore Masses do not appear to be performed with greater religious ceremony by our adversaries than by us."

sam, sed religiose retinere ac, defendere. Fiunt enim apud nos Missæ singulis Dominicis et aliis festis . . . et servantur usitatæ ceremoniae publicæ, ordo lectionum, orationum, vestitus, et alia similia."

"In the first place this must be premised again, that we do not abolish the Mass, but scrupulously retain and defend it. For, the Masses are performed by us on the several Sundays and other, festivals, and the usual public ceremonies are retained such as the order of the lessons, prayers, the vestments, and other similar things."

In our endeavors to identify all that is Protestant with Lutheranism let us bear in mind that the Confession of Augsburg retained the Mass, just as it is professed in Sweden to-day, where they retain Episcopacy on principle, the Mass-shirt or chasuble for their vestments, the Mass for their worship, and consubstantiation for their doctrine. As a matter of fact neither Zwingli nor the French ever subscribed the Confession of Augsburg, and from 1536 onwards a Zwinglo-Calvinist party existed, holding empirical views (though never called Protestants) until 1549 when the "Consensus Tigurinus" of Zurich fused them into a consistent equality to oppose

Lutheranism, which they hated with a determined and enduring dislike.

It is to Zwinglianism that Protestant sectarianism owes most, and if the Church of England had perished in Edward's or Mary's reign, it was to Zurich that the churchmen of that period would have looked.

If a man is to be judged by what he has written, we should say that Luther was a strange compound of good and evil. When he says, "Thou seest how rich is the Christian; even if he will, he cannot destroy his salvation by any sins, how grievous soever, unless he refuse to believe." "Be thou a sinner and sin boldly, but still more boldly believe and rejoice in Christ. From Him sin shall not separate us; no, though a thousand times in every day we should commit fornication or murder." "If in faith an adultery were committed it were no sin. The Gospel does not bid us do anything, or bid us leave anything undone; it exacts nothing of us; quite the contrary. In place of saying, 'Do this, Do that,' it simply requires us to spread out our lap and accept, saying, 'Hold! See what God has done for you, and given His own Son to be incarnate for you; accept the gift, believe, and you are saved.' In everything else he leaves you perfect liberty to do exactly what you like, without any peril to your conscience; even—for He is quite indifferent to it—you may

abandon your wife, or desert your husband, or not keep an engagement you have contracted, for what concern is it to God whether you do these things or not?" To one suffering with remorse on account of his sins he wrote, "Drink, play, laugh, and do some sin even as an act of defiance and contempt to the Devil. Therefore if the devil says to you, 'Don't drink so,' do you reply to him, 'aye, I will drink all the more copiously in the name of Christ.' Thus do just contrary to that which Satan (i. e. conscience) prompts. One can drive these Satanic thoughts away by introducing other thoughts, such as that of a pretty girl, avarice, drunkenness, or by giving way to violent passion; such is my advice." [1]

It would be quite unfair to Luther, however, to omit giving him credit for one great truth which he ennobled, viz.: "The gifts of God are without money and without price." Luther reduced the Sacraments to two, "Baptismus et Panis," although he retained the name of Sacrament to absolution. He argued, however, that if faith includes mystic incorporation with Christ, there is no room for Sacraments. He reasoned that Sacraments without faith are empty forms, while with faith they are simply recollections, spurs to effort, and opportunities of devotion. He attached no special sacramental efficacy to the water

[1] See Baring Gould, "Luther and Justification."

of baptism in his later years, as he considered any and all water baptism, and any bread and wine spiritual as well as material aliment to the faithful. Luther's "Glaube" meant justification by belief, as much as justification by faith, and hence the intellect was made supreme with no saving clause against liberty and license, which in every way invited the Antinomian heresy. The authority of Scripture was Luther's animating principle, and this he set up against the authority of the Church, and utterly ignored the fact that it was the heads of the Church in the second century, that forged the weapon he was now using against her. Luther was a singularly gifted man, and his powerful genius influenced the Reformation everywhere, but the trials of his declining years showed that he was wanting in mental equipoise. He was intensely self-conscious and egotistical, he says: "I am God's hammer," "I am Luther." He insisted upon liberty of thought and speech in matters of religion, and placed conscience above bishop, priest, and law. Luther had drunk deeply of Augustine's melancholy, and Tauler's mysticism, and was supremely jealous of all that came or seemed to come between the soul and God. He overstrained the doctrine of justification by faith into Solfidianism. He made a sort of half-hearted apology for works, but when he finds an apostle disagreeing with him, decides to throw out

the writings of St. James "as an epistle of straw." [1] It is no more than just to state that the merit of "Works" had been so intimately connected with all that was religious in the past, such as beads, rosaries, the fifteen O's, St. Agathe's letters, purgatory, stations, jubilees, relics, bells, fastings, and pardons, had been so abused so as to be followed as a principle of faith, there was a disposition on the part of the instructed, to resort to extremes, and when individuals abandoned Popery, like the pagan abandonment of idols in the first century, they turned the grace of God into lasciviousness. Erasmus openly charged the early reformers with lack of moral principle which accounted to some extent for the rapid victories of the cause. It is an open secret that, Carlstadt supposing the Mosaic law to be valid on the subject of matrimony, advised a man to marry two wives,[2] and as late as 1539, Luther, Melanchton and Bucer connived at the secret cohabitation of Philip of Hesse with a mistress whom he called his wife while his true wife was still living.[3]

Luther looked upon the Bible as simply a record of so many facts, and was held in the strictest sense to be the test of Scholastic Theology, the Papacy,

[1] "The Epistle of James is contentious, swelling, dry, strawy, and unworthy of an Apostolic Spirit." (Praef. in Epist. Jac. in Ed. Jen.)

[2] Hardwick Ref. 370. Cf. Bossuet, variations.

[3] (Ranke, Ref. ii. 204.)

and General Councils. The greatness of Luther for the most part lay in the destructive element of his work, in establishing a principle of free interpretation, which if left to the vagaries of every individual who thinks he has a mission, it falls under the category of any other book, and opens up a wide field for the very wildest absurdities. When Calvin was the dictator of the Genevan Republic he wrote that the written oracles of God were not of private interpretation, a judgment wholly inconsistent with Protestant methods of reform. The Protestants of Germany, by force of reaction, denied the existence of a Church, and a Divinely-appointed ministry. It is presumed that Luther never made any effort to distinguish between the rights and privileges which constitute the sacerdotal character of Christians generally, and the authority transmitted from our Lord to one special order of the Church, who officiate in His name, for the edification of the whole body of Christians. He held the democratic idea of the natural priesthood of all believers, and in applying his "justification by faith" theory, there was no need of priest, visible church, or sacrificial rite. He saw no distinction between clergy and laity except one of office, as one baptism, one faith, one Gospel, make all alike Christians. "Religion," he said, "is a matter simply between the believer and Christ. Christianity is personal, a spiritual power within the

soul holding relations with God alone. When the promise of the Gospel is once understood and accepted, what more is necessary ? " Luther formulated the principle that, " whoever is qualified to administer the Sacraments, becomes so in virtue of the congregation's choice, and when he is deprived of office becomes as other men." To the official Luther appointed over the vacated parishes, and organized assemblies, he gave the title Pastor, as being more consistent with the character of their work. Luther and Zwingli having renounced the priesthood, they had no authority to confer orders upon any, and Melanchthon and Calvin were simply laymen. If Christ had a visible church upon earth in the sixteenth century of which any section of Continental Europe could be called a part, it is certain that these early reforming Protestants knew they were departing from it, and furthermore it is absurd to arraign the clergy with a sweeping immorality as justification for the breach, and by inference or silence, conveying the impression that the laity were sound, loyal, and virtuous. It was the monks and clergy above all others who ennobled the arts of painting, literature, and sculpture in the ages preceding the Reformation. In Denmark Episcopacy was violently suppressed as early as 1536, the king and council having already (1530) reached the conclusion that the words " bishop," and " presbyter " are interchange-

able in Holy Scripture. The qualification for pastors throughout the Saxon Communion, it was ruled, "that any citizen of irreproachable life and competent learning might be selected without regard to his profession or employment." Priest, however, is an official character, always on the Catholic side of historical Christianity and it may be well to note that primitive Christians, believed in the Church as a visible organized society, the home of Divine grace, the repository of spiritual truth, the organ of Divine authority, and Priest has ever been associated with this visible society, the guardian of her inherent rights, the steward of her mysteries, whereby God is pleased to keep the soul of the believer in vital contact with Himself. If Sacraments were a divinely appointed means by which grace is imparted to the soul, it may well accord with God's purpose to entrust its administration to a priest, who claims succession from the apostles, through the channel of the historic Episcopate. Priests and Sacraments must, of necessity, stand or fall together.

Luther was the child of destiny, a man of undaunted courage, resoluteness, and daring, but we are persuaded from all he witnessed around him, ere his voice was hushed in death, he would gladly have recalled many erratic judgments which had hastily unbarred a destructive criticism, and irrevocably obscured to countless multitudes the vision and hope

of immortality. When we ask ourselves what particular blessing Luther bequeathed to his countrymen, we are reminded of Anthony's speech over the remains of Cæsar: "The evil that men do lives after them; the good is oft interred with their bones;" and so it came to pass, even before Luther had vanished from the scene of action, Protestantism had fallen into pitiable anarchy. In less than one year after the final rupture the Protestants were hopelessly divided, one section following the rationalist Carlstadt, the other still standing by their chieftain, Luther. In Luther's lifetime sects began to multiply, and justified their action on the principle of individual interpretation. He had been a cognizant witness of the Peasant War, which justified itself upon religious grounds, and before he passed away in 1546 he beheld the gathering clouds that ended in the Schmalkeldic War. Amongst the Zwickau prophets was one Storch, a weaver, who had a confidential communication from the Angel Gabriel; and another weaver named Thomas; and Stübner, a student, had forsaken their labors for the easier method of supernatural illumination. To these was added Thomas Münzer, the real founder of the party, who asks, "Why such a slavish reverence for what the Bible says? What is a mere book? Have we not voices, impulses, aye, revelations from the Holy Spirit dictating all we should do?"

In 1534 the Anabaptists (the legitimate ancestors of our modern Baptists) took possession of Munster, and pillaged churches, desecrated altars, established a community of goods, proclaimed polygamy, and committed fearful acts of debauchery and crime. Besides the above-mentioned, there were the followers of John of Leyden, Antinomians, Libertines, Socialists, Schwenckfeldians, and Pantheistic Mystics, each in their turn discovering something new. Every imaginable form of free thought justified itself on Luther's ultimate premises, and very soon moral revolt followed which questioned and discredited all reform. Every new sect, of course, was a source of weakness to Protestantism, and when the Roman Church discovered their hopelessness to win them back, they encouraged dissent, which eventually added strength to her cause, as it corroborated her previous verdict, that it was merely a revolt in the interest of private judgment. Protestantism legitimately belongs to Germany, with a possible extension to Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, but in strictness excludes all other countries and communities. From the year 1529 the Protestants of Germany have been known by the name of "Lutherans," and the Zwinglians and Calvinists, who originally had nothing in common with them, were called "Reformed." But notice this latter title undergoes another change when Calixtus (1586–1656) fused

Calvinists and Lutherans into a new Syncretist communion, which they set up as the State Church of Prussia, and assumed to themselves the official title "Evangelical," and the word Protestant is now claimed as by heredity the peculiar and distinct heritage of the propagandists of free thought in Germany. When the Luther monument was unveiled at Worms on June 25, 1868, all those of the speakers who explicitly described themselves as 'Protestants" seized the opportunity to assail the fundamental doctrines of Christianity itself. A little later, Professor Bluntschli, of Heidelberg, president of the "Protestanten-Verein," speaking as an unwelcome guest at the Old Catholic Congress in Cologne on St. Matthew's day, September 21, 1872, asserted that no agreement in dogma or worship is possible for mankind, not even amongst Protestants themselves, but only in moral and ethical life; and that "every attempt to formulate the truth is merely relative, and cannot be absolute;" explaining, in making these statements, he was expressing the matured opinions of all German Protestants. Luther's heritage to the world is what is represented at Tubingen to-day, one of whose disciples named Baur said at Bonn not many years ago that he had discovered "the bondage to a book was as bad as bondage to a church."

Erasmus in his lifetime received the credit of lay-

ing the egg that Luther hatched, but he met the remark, by saying, "The truth is I laid a hen's egg, but Luther hatched a very different kind of bird." Luther's work is applauded as a triumph of reason over superstition, but Möhler's symbolism probably sums up the situation in one sweeping passage when he says: "The most insidious and dangerous form of infidelity has grown up naturally, immediately, and irresistibly out of the very root of Protestantism." Froude, writing as a critic, out of sympathy with all religion, said: "The intellectual conflict which is now raging is the yet uncompleted outcome of Luther's defiance of established authority." And Maitland, in his introduction to the History of the Dark Ages says:—"The intellectual history of Europe is menaced with a new phenomenon—a religion without a God." "Infidelity has developed into materialism and materialism propounds to the world a philosophy, which shall explain and solve the mysteries of the past, and the future, which shall guide the thoughts and wills of men, but in which a Creator has no place. Man, according to this new Gospel, is a combination of chemical and physical atoms, produced by evolution and dissolved by death. The moral effect of this creed is obvious. For without God there is no morality, and no civilization, no joy in the past, no peace in the present, and no hope in the future." What the twentieth

century will bring forth no one can accurately foretell.

Under the head of "Protestant" in the Encyclopedia Britannica, vol. xix., it is stated to be a generic term for members of the churches which owe their origin, directly or indirectly, to the Reformation. The name is derived from the protest of Spires in 1529. Certain small communities of Christians older than the Reformation, but agreeing with it in rejecting the authority of Rome, are generally and quite logically grouped as Protestants, and popularly the name is considered to include all Christians who do not belong to the Greek and Roman Catholic Communions, though members of the Anglican Church, for example, frequently protest against such a classification as historically false and personally obnoxious. The origin of the word Protestant, as we have seen, had nothing to do with protesting against the errors of Rome, but simply against decrees of a Diet held in 1529. At that Diet the liberty was taken away from the princes who wished to arbitrarily regulate ecclesiastical affairs, and they protested and appealed to the emperor that the decree was "ultra vires," and maintained that a majority of votes in the diet would regulate a secular question, but not a spiritual or religious one. The decree being made in the interest of those who wished to keep everything as it had been, and the protest being

made by those who were desirous of reformation, it naturally happened that the secular and clerical should henceforth bear the name of Protestant concurrently.

CHAPTER IV.

REJECTED IN ENGLAND.

WHEN we turn our attention to the Mother Church of England, we acknowledge that it was subject to the Roman Pontiff at the beginning of the sixteenth century, just as Germany, Switzerland, and Scotland were. This condition was brought about by a variety of causes, which we cannot go into fully here, but they were, briefly, ambition, crusades, and contempt for primitive legislation. Out of Hildebrand's conception of Imperialism arising out of the severance of Church and State, was evolved the colossal theory of expansion, and centralization, which gradually subverted the independence of the English, Scotch, and Continental Churches. The efforts of the Roman Pontiff to bring England into subjection were constantly exercised from the time of the Norman Conquest, and the protests of England ran counter with these efforts, one of the most important being that of Langton, (1215), which is embodied in the first article of "Magna Charta" viz.:—"We have granted to God, that by this our present charter have confirmed for us and our heirs forever, that the

Church of England shall be free, and shall have all her whole rights and liberties inviolable."

The revival of letters revealed the true character of the Papacy, which had steadily and persistently fastened itself upon the Western Church, and England, seizing the opportunity of her king's divorce, threw off the foreign usurpation by legislation, which on the continent and in Scotland was effected through revolt.

As Rome brought England under her subjection by degrees, so it was that Englishmen (excepting the brief halt in Mary's reign) gradually threw off all medieval excrescences, being guided by the precedent of Catholic canons, Catholic councils, and the Catholic creeds of the first five centuries. She truly became a representative of the Catholic spirit, which thrilled the manhood of the English nation, when her noble martyrs endured torture and the flame, to maintain the unalterable faith, in its purest, simplest and most unquestionable integrity. For the sake of clearness, and the sake of truth, we unreservedly and unequivocally affirm that the tyrant Henry VIII. was neither the founder, nor reformer of the Church of England, school books and sectarian publications to the contrary notwithstanding.

Henry VIII. demanded that Convocation should recognize him as the only protector and supreme head of the Church ("*Ecclesiæ et Cleri Anglicani*

cujus protector et supremum caput is est"). Convocation would not consent, and eventually only agreed to the king's supremacy with the limitation "as far as the law of Christ allows" (*quantum per Christi Legem licet*). Henry VIII. wrote to Cardinal Pole before his death that he had no intention "of separating himself or his realm from the unity of Christ's Church, but inviolably at all times to keep and observe the same, and to redeem the Church of England out of captivity of foreign powers heretofore usurped therein." It was in this spirit that the English reformers lived and labored to restore the Church to her ancient Catholicity and inherited traditions of her fathers. This we propose to investigate in order to ascertain why the English Church, and her Episcopal daughter in America should not be called Catholic instead of Protestant. When Henry VIII. replied to Luther's "Babylonish Captivity" in 1521, he was considered the most Catholic prince in Christendom for his defense of the faith. After disruption had taken place in the German Church, Henry VIII., from motives of policy, tried to promote intercourse between the English and Germans, but his efforts resulted in utter failure. In 1535, Henry again made overtures to the lay princes of Germany, but they refused to enter into any compact, unless he subscribed the confession of Augsburg, which he most emphatically declined to do. Melanchthon was

again invited to England in 1538, but he did not come. The German representatives who did come over to England at that time to consider all questions of reform, showed their partiality for the Augsburg Confession in the thirteen articles they drew up, which were found a few years ago. The animating principle underlying these conferences was to arrive at some fixed standard or joint confession of faith, but when Cranmer and his colleagues came to consider the sacraments, they could not agree in anything except matrimony. When the break with the Papacy occurred, a strong party, either followers of the Lollards or the Anabaptists, holding revolutionary principles, hove into sight, and the ten articles of 1536 were intended "to stablyshe Christen quietnes and unitie amonge us, and to avoyde contentious opinions." The six articles of 1539 which were hurried through Parliament showed how the lay mind of England was affected towards Lutheranism, and its concomitant beliefs. The necessary Erudition or King's Book of 1543 was a protest against an insidious Protestantism, and it was only after every measure failed to bring the foreign Protestants into line of historical continuity that the English Church determined to draw up her own formula of doctrine. In 1548 Edward VI. gave directions for the compilation of a Liturgy, and "those who had the chief directing of the weighty business were beforehand

resolved that none but English heads or hands should be used therein; lest otherwise it might be thought, and perhaps objected, that they rather followed the example of other churches, or were swayed by the authority of those foreign assistants, than by the Word of God, and the most uncorrupted practise of primitive times.

Calvin had been invited to the previous conferences in England with Melanchthon, but he answered Cranmer with fair words and begged to be excused; but, note, when the forty-two articles were drawn up in England in 1552, Calvin now offers his assistance, but the Archbishop, who knew the man by his writings at least, declined the offer. Calvin then tried to influence the Reform movement by correspondence with Edward VI., Cranmer, and others. He expressed himself freely to Cranmer, and told him "that in the service of the Church of England, as then it stood, there remained a whole mass of Popery which did not only darken, but destroyed God's worship."[1] The Church of England also incurred the displeasure of John Knox, Calvin's intimate friend, in the year 1548, who declared that "of England then he had no plesur, be reassone that the Paipe's name being suppressed, his laws and corruptions remained in full vigor."

But such protestations did not come with very

[1] Heylyn, p. 107.

good grace from a man who had been punished as an accessory after the fact for the murder of the Cardinal Archbishop, John Beatoun.[1]

Knox was highly pleased that the murder had taken place, and expressed his admiration of the deed as a "Godly facte."

The forty-two articles of 1552 retained the Independence of the English Church from German Protestantism and French Calvinism. The year 1552 marks the lowest point the Church of England ever reached in her ecclesiastical legislation. To associate the word (or thing) Protestant with the early reformers of the English Church is to misrepresent them. Cranmer looked upon the Mass as it had been offered throughout the Middle Ages, as an absolute falsification of the true doctrine as held by the primitive Catholic Church. In the heat of conflict, the restorers of the Church sometimes objected personally to being called Catholic by the party who would not be reformed, yet they always spoke of themselves as Catholic, and in the Unity of the Church. They made the mistake in allowing themselves to be called Protestant by any outside party, which oftentimes resulted in obscuring their own position, and confusing history which has been pregnant with error ever since. The word Protestant, says Dixon, was

[1] See Calendar State Papers, Scotland, by Bain, Edinb., 1898.

first heard at the beginning of Edward VI.'s reign, wherein Nicoll in his narrative (p. 77) records, "that Thomas Handcock was called the same year which was the first of Edward VI. to be minister of God's Word at the town of Poole . . . they were the first that were called Protestants in that part of England." There was a party of dissenters called "Known Men," or just fast men who met as opportunity offered throughout the reign of Henry VIII. They were evidently followers of the Lollards, their doctrine being taken from 1 Cor. xiv. Is he a known man? was asked in much the same way that a modern Methodist asks, Is he a converted man?

Throughout the reign of Edward, the Church of England vigorously opposed the term Protestant as of foreign origin and history. Bishop Ridley, writing his brief declaration on the Lord's Supper in his prison at Oxford, 1555, is the first Englishman to use the word Protestant in connection with any party. He says: "My tongue and my pen, as long as I may, shall freely set forth that which undoubtedly I am persuaded to be the truth of God's Word. And yet I will do it under this protestation, call me Protestant who listeth, I pass not thereof, i. e. I care not for it." In the hand of the adversary it will be noted that the word was a term of reproach, just as Papist was often used in return of compliment. A more forcible illustration of how repugnant

Protestantism was to Englishmen occurs in Latimer's writings. Dr. Sherwood on one occasion accused Latimer of plagiarism, and he replied with his usual vigor, "I said nothing (I call God to witness that I lie not) which I borrowed from Luther, Œcolampadius, or Melanchthon, yet you hesitate not (such is your charity) to fix this charge upon me. If I have done this thing, may I fall as I deserve, stript bare by mine enemies. But you know not, methinks, what spirit you are of, while you would rather assail a minister of God's Word with your most impudent falsehood, than bear witness to the truth."[1] There could be no intercommunion between Anglican clergy and Lutheran Protestants, because the latter holding the doctrine of Ubiquity, separated them by a chasm as wide as Transubstantiation separated both from Rome. If one will take the trouble to read Ridley's works, especially at page 160, he will find that there was not so wide a difference on doctrinal points between Anglicans and Romanists as between Anglicans and Lutheran Protestants. Melanchthon writing to Camerarius, October 8, 1558, said, he viewed the Anglican who might sacrifice his life in resisting the errors of Rome "as a martyr to the Devil." The Lutherans retained a semblance of the corporal presence, as the Apology for the Confession states: "In the Supper of the Lord the Body and Blood

[1] Latimer's Works, ii. p. 315.

of Christ are truly and substantially present together with the things which are seen, bread and wine,[1] but there was a wide difference between this definition and the doctrine for which Englishmen shed their blood. In one of the disputations at Oxford during the imprisonment of Latimer, the Prolocutor said to him, "You were once a Lutheran," and Latimer replied, "No, I was a Papist; for I never could perceive how Luther could defend his opinion without Transubstantiation." [2]

The enforcement of the Augsburg Interim, a semi-Romanist régime, forced many foreign Protestants into England, where they were courteously received and recognized as honest men struggling for light. Throughout the reign of Edward, Anabaptist refugees from Germany and the Netherlands, fled to England and were allowed to congregate in London and seaport towns, but on Mary's coming to the throne in August, 1553, all foreigners and sympathizers decided that discretion was the better part of valor, and concluded to depart the realm. In September, 1553, the congregations under the superintendence of John A'Laski, were counseled to depart. A letter of September 16th, probably written by Cranmer to the mayors of Dover and Rye, begged them "to suffer all such Frenchmen as had been liven

[1] Pusey, Real Presence, p. 34.

[2] Latimer, ii. p. 486.

in London and hereabouts under name of the Protestants, to depart."

The work of restoration was entirely suspended during Mary's reign, who re-established the Pope's supremacy, and all previous acts in favor of Reformation were repealed; but when Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558, the former independence of the Church was resumed, and she plainly intimated to the foreign Protestants, who importuned her, that she would not deviate from the course laid down in Edward's reign, to bring about a Catholic reformation.

A new Prayer Book was shortly put forth with all the passages that might give offense to the Popish party carefully expunged. She ordered that sacramental bread should be made in the fashion of wafers, and the Lord's table placed where the altar stood. All Papists in England attended their parish churches until 1570 without doubt or scruple.[1]

It is difficult to conceive what possessed Englishmen to take shelter under the fostering care of Zwinglianism at Zurich and Frankfort, at the beginning of Mary's reign, unless it promised to be the safest haven of refuge available on the Continent. With Lutheranism they had nothing in common, and the much-vaunted liberty of conscience that had echoed across the seas from Geneva was at once

[1] Heylyn, p. 283.

dissipated when Calvin and his council arrested the poor wayfarer Servetus, August 13th, 1553, for holding a contrary opinion concerning the Deity of Christ, and condemned him to the flames as a pestilential heretic, made them hesitate to offer the hand of fellowship to men such as Calvin, or Melanchthon, who applauded the act as charitable and just.[1]

When Mary died, Englishmen and others flocked over from the Continent in the hope of remodeling the Liturgy and improving the queen's government, but they found to their surprise that Elizabeth was sufficiently strong-minded to take care of both. It grieved them at the heart to find that their own prayers might not be made the rule of worship in all congregations, as they especially desired to lord it over the several parishes of England, as Calvin did in the presbytery of his Genevan Church. Martyr's and Calvin's efforts failed, as the queen had fixed herself on her resolution of keeping the Church in such outward splendor as might make it every way considerable in the eye of the world; so that they must have faith to remove a mountain before they could have hope enough to draw her to them.[2] The articles adopted in 1562 were the same as those agreed upon in 1552, excepting those relating to Anabaptists, Millenarians, etc., which were now considered unnecessary. Genevans and Zwinglians were

[1] Dyer's Life of Calvin. [2] Heylyn, p. 304.

united in thinking the XXXIX Articles of 1562 to have too much of the Pope and too little of Calvin in them, and were therefore not to be subscribed by any who desired the reputation of keeping a good conscience with faith unfeigned.[1] Fox, who was a sympathizer with foreign Protestants, and writing his "Acts and Monuments" at Geneva, uses the word Protestant in such a manner as to show that he did not consider it applicable to members of the Church of England, and his reference to the known men, or just fast men called Protestants, shows that they were a survival of the socialistic Lollards.[2] Bishop Grindal had favored the French Protestants in Edward's time, by allowing them to have their assembly in London, but when he became Archbishop under Queen Elizabeth, and showed a similar leniency towards schismatics, by allowing them to hold meetings called "Prophesyings," she had him suspended from office and confined to his house, by order of the Star Chamber.[3]

There are still two societies in England—the Dutch, in Austin Friars, and the French, which assemble in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, which have ever been separate from the Church of England, and conclusively proves that their position all along has been that of specially tolerated dissenters. In Keble's

[1] Heylyn, p. 337. [2] See Fox, vol. iv.
[3] Cardwell's Annals of Ref. i. 431.

preface to Hooker, it is stated that numbers had been admitted to the ministry of the Church of England with no better than Presbyterian ordination, which, the followers of Calvin assert, fixed the seal of validity upon their orders, as additional proof of their authority to preach the Gospel and administer the sacraments. Many of the English laity had looked upon the polity of the foreign sects with complacency, and an occasional connivance at the occupation of an English benefice comes before us; but there is yet one valid case of open and authoritative admission on the part of the Church, of any foreign Protestant, to cure of souls in England, to be placed before us. Whenever any man in foreign orders was placed in a benefice, between 1552 and 1640, it was done in open defiance of Ecclesiastical Law. In the preface to the Ordinal of the Prayer Book of 1552, the statement is there made, which was never repealed, that "It is evident unto all men, diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that, from the Apostles' time, there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's Church: Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, which offices were evermore held in such reverent estimation that no man by his own private authority might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as were requisite for the same, and also by public prayer,

with imposition of hands, approved and admitted thereto. And therefore, to the intent these orders should be continued, and reverently used and esteemed in the Church of England, it is requisite that no man (not being at this present Bishop, Priest, or Deacon) shall execute any of them, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted according to the form hereafter following." This was the law between 1552 and 1662. The "Reformatio Legum," which was never actually enacted, shows, at least, the intent of extreme reformers in Edward VI.'s time, of which the two sections subjoined have some bearing upon the subject: I. De Hæresibus, cap. 16, condemns as heretics those who allege that persons whose qualifications consist only in knowledge of Scripture, and claim possession of the Spirit, to teach, rule, and administer the sacraments in the Church without a lawful call or formal imposition of hands; and, II., De Ecclesiâ, cap. 12, in which the Bishop alone is named as the bestower of orders. Between the years 1552 and 1640, there were two causes at work in England to lower respect for the Episcopal Order. The first of these causes came from Roman Catholic theologians, who used every endeavor to depreciate the character of the Episcopate, in order to exalt the Papacy, as will be seen from the following extract:

Q. An Episcopatus est ordo? Is the Episcopate an order?

R. Episcopatus est verus ordo et verum et propriè dictum sacramentum, specialem imprimens characterem. Sed cùm distinctio ordinum juxta S. Thomam (Suppl. Quaest. 37, art. 2, in Corp.) accipienda sit secundum relationem ad eucharistiam sive consecrandam sive distribuendam, ideo theologi episcopatum ordinem distinctum non ponunt, sed eum sub sacerdotio comprehendunt, cùm sacerdotes et episcopi quantum ad hoc pari gaudeant potestate."[1] "R. The Episcopate is a true order, and truly and properly called a sacrament, impressing a special character, but when a distinction of orders (in works of) S. Thomas is to be accepted, according to its relation to either the consecrating or the distributing of the Eucharist, therefore theologians do not regard the Episcopate as a distinct order, but include it under the priesthood since the priests and the bishops enjoy equal power in this respect." The other source of disparagement came mostly from ultra reformers who were desirous of securing as many allies as possible in the civil and religious conflict, which they had entered into, and the only individuals to which they could reasonably appeal was to men who had deliberately rejected episcopacy. Protestantism was on trial, and many remained indifferent until there was a reasonable prospect of adding glebes, abbey lands, and consecrated treasure

[1] Petri Dens. Theologia.—"Tract. de Ordine," N. II. V.

to their wealth of accumulation. In days when papers, railroads, and telegraph were unknown it was an easy matter to commit an irregularity, or to place a favorite in a benefice, and the matter would be practically unknown beyond a very narrow circle. Whittingham, Calvin's brother-in-law, is a leading instance. He had only received Genevan ordination and through the influence of Leicester, Walsingham, and Burghley, he was made Dean of Durham. Suit was instituted to eject him from the Deanery on the ground that he was "merè laïcus," but his death occurring shortly after proceedings had been set on foot, there never was any formal decision handed down. It established a precedent for Chief Justice Hobart in the case of Whitgift *v.* Barrington in 1623, to the effect that a dean may be a layman, "as the Dean of Durham, by special license and dispensation of the King."[1] Just as Henry VIII. made Thomas Cromwell, a layman, Dean of Wells, or a layman may be dean of the University of Pennsylvania. When Whitgift became archbishop in 1583, the question was put to him, "Whether there were not sundry non-Episcopalian ministers officiating by permission within his province of Canterbury," his answer was, "I know none such."[2] The case of Travers, who had been ordained by the Presbytery of Antwerp in 1576,

[1] Godolphin, Repert. Juris. p. 367.
[2] Strype's Life of Whitgift, part iii. p. 182.

sought admission to an English benefice on that qualification in 1584, and endeavored to place a construction upon 13 Elizabeth, cap. 10, favorable to his plea. Whitgift's characteristic reply was: "Unless he will testify his conformity by subscription . . . and make proof unto me that he is a minister ordered according to the laws of the Church of England, as I verily believe he is not . . . I can by no means yield my consent to placing him . . . in any function of this church." Travers' "supplication" was disallowed. Lord Macaulay in his "History of England" with the object of disparaging the Church of England, cites the case of Morrison, who received Presbyterian ordination in 1577, as being licensed in 1582 to officiate, and minister the Sacraments in England; but if this was done by Grindal, or any other bishop in England, it was clearly an illegal act, as it was as well known in England as in Scotland, that there was no imposition of hands in the latter country between 1560 and 1592. Grindal being suspended at the time, his vicar-general, who granted Morrison the license, seems to have been aware of the illegality, as the dispensation contains this clause, "Quatenus jura regni patiuntur." "As far as the laws of the Kingdom allow." The laws of the realm did not authorize any such grant, because it was barred by the recent and operative clause of the canons of 1571:

"Episcopus neminem, qui se otioso nomine Letcorem vocet, et manus impositionem non acceperit, in Ecclesiæ ministerio versari patietur." "The bishop will allow no one to be engaged in the ministry of the Church, who (merely) having a reputation for leisure, calls himself a reader, and who has not received the laying on of hands."

The canons of 1597 prohibit bishops from instituting any one to a benefice unless ordained by themselves, or bringing letters dismissory from some other bishop who has ordained them. Canon XXXIX. of 1603 is worded thus:—"No bishop shall institute any to a benefice who hath been ordained by any other bishop, except he first show unto him his letters of orders, etc." And again from a letter of orders granted by Archbishop Bramhall of Armagh, to a gentleman having nothing better than Presbyterian orders in his diocese, we cite one clause which shows the opinion of this practical and gentlemanly Christian: "non annihilantes priores ordines (si quos habuit) nec validitatem aut invaliditatem eorum determinantes, multo minus omnes ordines. Sacros ecclesiarum forensicarum condemnantes, quos proprio judici relinquimus." "Not abolishing the former orders (if he had any) nor determining their validity or invalidity, much less condemning all the sacred orders of the preaching churches, which we leave to the proper judge." This occurred after the restora-

tion in 1660, and is a pronouncement of invalidity without too harshly wounding the susceptibilities of the person concerned. Lutherans and Calvinists have labored desperately to show how much the Church of England is indebted to their theologians for many definitions of doctrine to be found in the "XXXIX Articles" but we search in vain through this formula of doctrine, that had to do with clergy only, for any reference to Lutheran solfidianism, and the reference to predestination in Article XVII. does not refer to Calvin's doctrine, but to the teaching of the schoolmen on what was called the merit of congruity.

Shortly after the event of the Armada, in 1588, when England had elected to assist the Netherlands against the King of Spain, there appeared a pamphlet entitled: "A declaration of the true causes of the great troubles presupposed to be intended against the realm of England," to which Francis Bacon replied in his "Observations on a Libel," in 1592, wherein the following sentence occurs: "Touching the divisions in our church the libeler affirmeth that the Protestantical Calvinism (for so it pleaseth him with very good grace to term the religion with us established), is grown contemptible and detected of idolatry, heresy, and many other superstitious abuses, by a purified sort of professors of the same Gospel; and this contention is yet grown to be more intricate by reason of a third kind of gospelers called Brown-

ists; who, being directed by the great favor of the unholy Ghost, do expressly affirm that the Protestantical Church of England is not gathered in the name of Christ, but of Antichrist, and that if the prince or magistrate under her do refuse or defer to reform the Church the people may without her consent take the reformation into their own hands, and hereto he addeth the fanatical pageant of Hacket." [1]

In 1595, owing to the influence that Calvin's Institutes had on the minds of certain of the Anglican clergy, touching the terrible doctrines of predestination, and reprobation, nine articles were drawn up at Lambeth, under the presidency of Archbishop Whitgift, but owing to the good sense of Elizabeth, they were prevented from being imposed upon the Church, as she had decided to abide by the settlement of 1562. It is a well-known fact that Elizabeth would not send the prelates of the Church to the Council of Trent, because the Pope summoned England as a Protestant, and not as a Catholic country.[2]

The Hampton Court Conference of 1605 produced no change in the Church of England.

The first and only example in history where anything like intercourse took place between the Church of England and foreign Protestants occurred at the Calvinistic Synod of Dort, in 1618, when James I. of

[1] Francis Bacon's Works, vol. viii. p. 164, Longman's ed., 1862.

[2] Hist. of the Reformation, by Aubrey L. Moore, p. 255.

England on his own authority, as Macaulay witnesseth, sent five divines as an act of courtesy to Dort to listen to the men who were about to proceed to explain and define God's sovereignty, and Man's free will. James had the wisdom to foresee that the points at issue between Arminians and Calvinists were soon to be made the outcome of debate in England as well.

It will be readily understood that James assumed entire responsibility for sending the delegates when it is known that no convocation of either province assembled in England between 1614 and 1621.[1]

They went as political emissaries purely, and all decrees of the Council affected doctrine only. If they had been there in any true official capacity as representatives of the Church, they would have exchanged ratifications, and their signatures attached like that of a treaty, but nothing of the kind exists that would fasten any obligation upon the Church of England, to accept the decrees of the Synod. The king's instructions to the delegates are enumerated under nine heads, the last but one reading: "That as you principally look to God's glory, and the peace of those distracted churches; so you have an eye to our honor, who send and employ you thither, and consequently, at all times consult with our ambassador, there residing, who is best acquainted with

[1] Joyce, Sacred Synods, p. 648.

the form of those countries, understandeth well the questions and differences among them, and shall from time to time receive our princely directions, as occasion shall require. Of the five representatives that James despatched Dr. Davenant, the divinity professor, was decidedly the leading spirit, and strongly inclined to Calvinistic doctrine. Bishop Carleton was reputed as a rigid Calvinist also, and the rest were moderate Augustinians. In the discussions which often lacked charity and candor, Dr. Davenant restrained them from extravagant action.

Dort was the first national synod of the Protestants in Europe, and, as Robert Southey remarked, from that day hence "the abominable doctrine that the Almighty has placed the greater part of mankind under a fatal necessity of committing the offenses for which he has predetermined to punish them eternally," lost ground. It, however, became the rallying cry of Sectarianism, which became puffed up with spiritual pride in fancying that they were favorites and the elect of the Almighty, and claimed heaven and earth as theirs by right of inheritance. In one of the sessions at this synod the "Belgic Confession of Faith" was brought in to be subscribed by the Dutch and approved by the foreign divines. In this confession it is distinctly asserted that the ministers of Christ have all the same character, jurisdiction, and authority. This could not be

admitted by members of the Church of England, and Bishop Carleton formally protested in the synod against "the strange conceit of parity of ministers," and afterwards in a conference told them that the cause of all their troubles was in having no bishops. To this they replied, "that they heartily wished they could establish themselves on the model of the Church of England, but they had no prospect of such a happiness; and since the civil government had made their desires impracticable, they hoped God would be merciful to them. They would have had bishops if they could. They could not, because none of the Continental bishops joined the Reformation, which was almost entirely on the part of the laity. In England the case was different, as all "orders and estates" of men joined the Reformation, clergy, and laity, and so have conserved the episcopal regimen and handed on the Apostolic succession. "The good sense of the English," says De Maistre, "hath preserved the hierarchy."

After the synod had closed and the Englishmen had returned to their homes, the battle of the five points began. A young and learned theologian attacked the Englishmen who attended the conference and went so far as to assert that "the discipline of the Church of England was condemned in that assembly." This called for a reply from the delegates, which was recently found in the Bodleian Library,

Oxford, and is printed in full in Morris Fuller's Life of John Davenant, London, Methuen, 1897. It occupies some nine pages, of which four sections are subjoined:

"A joint attestation of several bishops and learned divines of the Church of England, avowing that her doctrine was confirmed and her discipline was not impeached by the Synod of Dort"— . . . We answer, that in the Netherlands, the party (Armenians) opposite to that synod, and most aggrieved with the conclusions thereof concerning the points controverted, are, notwithstanding, as vehement and resolute maintainers of ministerial parity as any that concluded or accepted the judgment of that synod. . . . And because two or three articles thereof concerned Church Discipline, and avowed a parity of ministers, they, prudently foreseeing that the British divines would never approve but oppose the same, did, therefore, provide that, before the examination or reading thereof, protestation should be made by the president of the synod that nothing but the doctrinal points were to be subjected to their consideration and suffrages. . . . And consulting together what was fit to be done in delivering our opinions next day, we jointly concluded that, howsoever our church discipline had not been synodically taxed nor theirs avowed, yet it was convenient for us, who were as-

sured in our consciences that their presbyterial parity and laical presbytery was repugnant to the discipline established by the Apostles and retained in our own church, to declare in a temperate manner our judgment as well concerning that matter. . . . We, therefore, professed and declared our utter dissent in that point, and further showed that by our Saviour a parity of ministers was never instituted. That Christ ordained twelve Apostles and seventy disciples; that the authority of these twelve was above this other; that the Church preserved this order left by our Saviour. And when the extraordinary authority of the Apostles ceased, yet their ordinary authority continued in bishops who succeeded them, who were by the Apostles themselves left in the government of the Church to ordain ministers, and to see that they who were so ordained should preach no other doctrine. That in an inferior degree the ministers who were governed by bishops succeeded the seventy disciples. That this order hath been maintained in the Church from the time of the Apostles. And herein we appealed to the judgment of antiquity or any learned man now living if any could speak to the contrary. . . . We humbly submit this and all our other actions concerning our calling to the judgment of our most venerable Mother, the Church of England, from whose sacred rule we vow that we have not swerved

nor any whit impeached her discipline or authorized doctrine, either abroad or at home.

Ita Testamur:

"Georgius, Cicestrensis Episcopus (Carleton).

"Johannes, Sarisburiensis Episcopus (Davenant.)

"Gualtrius Balcanqual, Decan Roff.,

"Samuel Ward, Pub. Profess. Theol. in Acad. Cant. et Coll., Sid. Prefect. Thomas Goad, Sacræ Theol. Doctor."

There is at present a painting in the Museum of Antiquities at Dort, by P. Weyts, which shows the British deputies, sitting apart in the upper right-hand corner, as onlookers at the Synod of Dort.

In the days of Elizabeth, just as "Protestant" and "Reformed" were opposed and contrasted on the Continent, so Protestant and "Puritan" began to be similarly contrasted in England, and in 1640 the name was colloquially given to churchmen. Pope Innocent wrote to his Nuncio at the Court of Charles I.: "Advise the clergy to desist from that foolish, nay, rather illiterate and childish custom, of distinguishing between the Protestant [Episcopal] and Puritan doctrine."[1] The name Puritan, in history, as Gardiner admits, is a very difficult thing to understand. Francis Bacon says, after 1588 the Nonconformists accepted it as peculiarly their own.

[1] British Critic, xv., 70.

Charles I. posed on certain coins of his as the champion of the "Protestant Religion," and on the scaffold itself he described himself as a Protestant. And Laud himself, the bugbear to this day of all Protestant sects, in his conferences with the Jesuit, Fisher, says: "The Protestants did not get that name by protesting against the Church of Rome, but by protesting (and that when nothing else would save) against her errors and superstitions. Do but remove them from the Church of Rome, and our protestation is ended, and the separation too; nor is protestation itself such an unheard-of thing in the very heart of religion. For the sacraments, both of the Old and New Testaments, are called by your own school, "Visible signs protesting the faith." The Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England was settled in 1662, from which, as the preface to our American book states, we are far from intending to depart, in any essential point of doctrine, discipline, or worship. What is further, it unqualifiedly emphasizes the separate existence of Dissent. The word Protestant is paradoxical, and, as we have seen in the classics, was as freely used to call to witness as to declare against, but in modern usage it is universally limited to the one meaning of non-Papal, and may equally be applied to the Trinity as the Supremacy, as both doctrines are professed by that particular Church. The coming of the Jesuits into

England, in 1580, and the various intrigues and plots which followed, the Marprelate libels, and the dreaded Armada of 1588, which Spaniards called a crusade, disposed the uneducated English as a nation to use a term colloquially, which was eventually found to be misleading as it was perplexing. In the most serious crisis of the Church of England's history, the lower House of Convocation deliberately repudiated the word "Protestant," which came about in this way: In the first year of William and Mary, Parliament (composed chiefly of Dissenters) desired to take matters into their own hands, and petitioned the Throne to summon Convocation. The House of Commons protested against the action of Parliament, and expressed the opinion that Convocation was the proper place to settle ecclesiastical affairs. Convocation accordingly assembled on the 21st of November, 1689. The bishops agreed upon an address thanking the king for his zeal for the Protestant religion in general, and the Church of England in particular. The Lower House refused to adopt this language. The bishops desired them to state the ground of objection, the prolocutor replied, that the Church of England was distinguished by its doctrines as contained in the Articles, Liturgy and homilies, and that the term "Protestant Churches" was equivocal, since Socinians, Anabaptists, and Quakers, assumed the title. The bishops yielded to

the Lower House, which grounded its objection on an apprehension "lest the Church of England should suffer diminution in being joined with foreign Protestant Churches."[1] As early as 1584, an attempt had been made in England to establish a Presbyterian system through Parliament,and owing to the aggressiveness of malcontents, prohibitory laws were passed, which affected Roman Catholics most severely. Romanism and Separatism, it is painful to record, (between the millstones of innuendo and abuse), at one time tried to crush the Church, one party claiming that the Church of England had sprung from the crimes and passions of a despot, and the other, affecting an unconsciousness of her Catholic antiquity, proclaimed her an Act of Parliament Church, and was therefore an unscriptural and sinful institution, and as such should be destroyed. But it was an Act of Parliament (I. William and Mary, chap. 18), that gave Separatism a legal existence, which the dissenting historians, Messrs. Bogue and Bennett, call their Magna Charta. Up to the time of William and Mary, as is quite obvious, the State of England had neither by act nor statute, accepted the title Protestant, and the Church, by her last settlement at the Restoration, and confirmed by Charles II.'s Act of Uniformity, was much less Protestant than any

[1]History of Convocation, by Rev.Thomas Lathbury, 1842. Kennet's Complete History of England. Cardwell's Conferences, 3d ed. p. 450.

which had legally subsisted through the previous hundred years. The staple argument in favor of the term "Protestant," is founded on the consideration that the word occurs in certain Acts of Parliament. Statute I., William and Mary, chap. vi., requires that the king, at his coronation, shall take an oath (*inter alia*) to maintain "the Protestant Reformed Religion established by law." Again, the act of Union with Scotland, 1707, Statute 25, ratifies an Act passed at the same time with the Articles, by the Scottish Parliament, establishing and confirming the Protestant religion, the Westminster Confession of Faith, and the Scottish Church and its Presbyterian Church Government. Also, in the Act of Union with Ireland, 1800, it is enacted, "That the Churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, be united into one Protestant Episcopal Church, to be called, 'The United Church of Great Britain and Ireland.'" These statutes are the authorities appointed to establish the term Protestant on a basis of legal enactment. The oath tendered to Henry VI., Elizabeth, James I., Charles I., Charles II., and James II., ran as follows:

Archbishop:—"Sir: Will you grant and keep, and, by your oath, confirm to the people of England the laws and customs to them granted by the Kings of England, your lawful and religious predecessors; and, namely, the laws, customs, and franchises granted

to the clergy by the glorious King St. Edward, your predecessor, according to the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel established in this kingdom, and agreeing to the prerogatives of the kings thereof, and the ancient customs of this realm?"

King:—"I grant and promise to keep them."

The insane conduct of James II., who endeavored to overthrow the constitution in Church and State, threw the English nation into a Protestant frenzy, the complexion of Parliament already mentioned, and the known sympathies of William of Orange, who was willing enough to assimilate the English Church to the Protestant Congregations on the Continent, it is not difficult to understand why the change was made in the Coronation Oath of William, which read as follows:—

"Will ye to the utmost of yor power maintaine ye Laws of God, the true profession of the Gospell and the Protestant Reformed Religion Established by Law, and will ye preserve to the Bishops and Clergy of this Realme and the Church committed to their charge, as by Law do or shall appertaine to them or any of them."

Rex et Reg. Separatim responderunt. "All this I promise to do."[1]

The Oath was somewhat expanded, at the Coronation of Queen Victoria, and read as follows:—

[1] Br. Museum MS., Lansdowne, 281 fo. 78 b.

Archbishop:—"Will you to the utmost of your power maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant Reformed Religion established by Law? And will you maintain and preserve inviolably the settlement of the United Church of England and Ireland, and the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government thereof, as by law established within England and Ireland, and the Territories thereunto belonging? And will you preserve unto the Bishops and Clergy of England and Ireland and to the Churches (Dioceses), there committed to their charge, all such Rights and Privileges, as by Law do, or shall appertain to Them, or any of Them?"

Queen:—"All this I promise to do."

The Oath, then, as it was tendered to William and Victoria amounts to this, that only one person in the whole British Empire is required or expected to regard the established religion as Protestant, and that obligation arises from a purely civil and political enactment, which was intended to estop any high-handed methods that had been in fashion amongst the Stuarts.

In the Coronation service of the Queen, following the administration of the Oath, the Hymn *Veni Creator* is sung, and the Archbishop solemnly blesses the oil, and in laying his hands upon the Ampulla prays that by his "office and ministry," the Queen may be anointed with this oil and consecrated Queen

of this realm, after which the ring is bestowed with these words: "Receive this ring, the ensign of Kingly dignity, and of defense of the Catholic Faith." The celebration of the Eucharist being resumed, the Queen offered for her communion the bread and wine that were to be consecrated, over which the Archbishop said the following: "Bless, O Lord, we beseech thee, these thy Gifts, and sanctify them unto this holy use, that by them we may be made partakers of the Body and Blood of thine only begotten Son Jesus Christ, and fed unto everlasting life of Soul and Body, etc." As to this whole question we quote from a letter, written by a man absolutely free from all suspicion of modern theological partizanship, and one of the most philosophic lay thinkers that has ever graced the pages of English literature.

"Our predecessors in legislation were not so irrational (not to say impious) as to form an operose ecclesiastical establishment, and even to render the State in some degree subservient to it, when their religion (if such it might be called), was nothing but a mere negation of some other, without any positive idea either of doctrine, discipline, worship, or morals, in the scheme which they professed themselves, and which they imposed upon others, even under penalties and incapacities. . . . So little idea had they at the revolution of establishing Protestantism indefinitely, that they did not indefinitely tolerate it

under that name. If mere dissent from the Church of Rome be a merit, he that dissents the most perfectly is the most meritorious. For many points we hold strongly with that Church. He that dissents throughout with that Church will dissent from the Church of England, and then it will be a part of his merit that he dissent with ourselves; a whimsical piece of merit for any set of men to establish. . . . A man is certainly the most perfect Protestant who protests against the whole Christian religion. Whether a person's having no Christian religion be a title to favor, in exclusion to the largest description of Christians who hold all the doctrines of Christianity, though holding along with them some errors and some superfluities, is rather more than any man, who has not become recreant and apostate from his baptism, will, I believe, choose to affirm. The countenance given from a spirit of controversy to that negative religion may, by degrees, encourage light and unthinking people to a total indifference to everything positive in matters of doctrine; and in the end, of practise too. If continued, it would play the game of that sort of active, proselytizing, and persecuting Atheism, which is the disgrace and calamity of our time." In referring to the Coronation Oath, he says: "The Oath as effectually prevents the King from doing anything to the prejudice of the Church in favor of Sectaries, Jews, Mahom-

etans, or plain avowed infidels, as if he should do the same thing in favor of the (Roman) Catholics. You will see that it is the same Protestant Church, so described, that the King is to maintain and communicate with, according to the Act of Settlement of the 12th and 13th of William III. The act of the 5th of Anne, made in prospect of the Union, is entitled 'An act for securing the Church of England as by law established.' It meant to guard the Church implicitly against any other mode of Protestant religion which might creep in by means of the Union. It proves beyond doubt, that the legislature did not mean to guard the Church in one part only, and to leave it defenseless and exposed upon every other."[1]

The sovereign of England is crowned as monarch of the United Kingdom, which, of course, includes Scotland. It is important to note that the establishment of Presbyterianism has been recognized since 1707, but the Coronation Oath does not recognize this establishment as a church, nor does the sovereign enter into any personal pledge for its defense and maintenance, although there have been six coronations since the act of union and seven since the legislative overthrow of the Church of Scotland in 1690.[2]

Another shrewd thinker and acknowledged leader

[1] Edmund Burke to Sir Hercules Langrishe, Jan. 3d, 1792.

[2] See Church Quarterly Review, January, 1879.

amongst Low Churchmen has expressed himself as follows:—

"It is not with anything like a wish to carp at words that I avow my ignorance of what is meant by the phrase 'the Protestant faith,' 'Protestant' and 'faith' are terms which do not seem to me to accord together. The object of 'faith' is Divine truth; the object of 'Protestant' is human error. How, therefore can one be an attribute of the other?"[1]

"Protestant," says Dixon, "has been rejected by the English Church as a title for three reasons. First, it is of foreign origin and history; second, it is not found in the formularies (articles, canons, or homilies) of the Church of England; and, third, it has been adopted and taken to themselves by the majority of sectarian societies."

That the Church as the Body of Christ is one, is an axiom of Christian belief. There is a great deal said of the unity of the Spirit and unity of action in the New Testament, and nothing of uniformity in outward organization; but we ask: Did the conditions and circumstances call for peremptory action or expression in the first beginnings of the Evangel, in this particular? When the religion of the Nazarene was persecuted and held in ill repute, it was impossible for anything to be done openly, and we venture to assert that had St. Paul been living in the

[1] Henry Philpotts, Bishop of Exeter, Pastoral Letter, 1851.

sixteenth century he would have written as freely to condemn the spirit of division on the continent and in England as he did the Corinthians for evils which were greater, though more easily corrected.

In the beginning of Elizabeth's reign the principle involved in the schism of the Separatists was, whether the English Church is a new one, or the old Church restored? It is not too much to say that Anglo-Catholics fought and perished to preserve the continuity and identity of the old Church. The Separatists and those who returned to England impregnated with their doctrines, wanted a new church fashioned after the Swiss model. They looked upon the English Church as suffering from "arrested development," as their motives were revealed in the attack, which shifted from the surplice to episcopacy. If bishop meant superintendent, the Separatist did not object; but if bishop meant bishop, it was pure "Papistry." Through the powerful influence which came from abroad, the English Church had almost abandoned sacramentalism; but the Anglo-Catholics tenaciously clung to sacerdotalism and the Apostolic succession. The Separatists hated both. Behind this was the objection to an "Established" Church enforcing spiritual sentences with the civil sword. Hence the hatred of uniformity.[1]

[1] Hist. Ref., by Aubrey L. Moore, p. 269; Neal's Puritans and Court-reformers, i., 100–102.

Christ and His Church are one (Eph. iv. 4). And herein arises the question which has been under discussion since the sixteenth century, as to whether the Christian ministry originated by transmission from above, or is simply a development from below. Is uninterrupted transmission from those who had the power to transmit a real essential? or can the Church originate, at any time, a new ministry whose commission of authority should exceed or transcend by way of improvement what had already been ministerially received? The Apostles were selected for their special fitness to carry on the work of Christ. They received a formal commission of authority for government from Christ Himself, in token of which they were known by the name of Apostles (St. Mark iii. 14). The name was commonly applied to them while they were under training for the great mission of their lives, which was finally revealed to them as our Lord was about to leave them. They were supposed to know the mind of our Lord, and under the special guidance of the Holy Ghost, which He had promised them over and over again, they were surely the ones to take the lead in all things pertaining to the flock. They were the chief witnesses to His resurrection. At the Jerusalem conference the strongest in point of character necessarily comes to the front, but the resolutions of the body go forth with the authority of the whole Church.

The gift at Pentecost substituted a spiritual presence, for Christ's former bodily, and necessarily limited presence, whereby He is to abide with His Church until the second advent. It is through this presence that Christ acts upon the body corporate, which discerns and touches the invisible reality by faith.

Christ and His Church are one in life and action, with faith and sacraments as the bond of union. In our giving to God we offer praise and thanksgiving, the alms of our substance, the elements of the bread and wine as an oblation, and ourselves, our souls and bodies as a unit of the redeemed creation, in acknowledgment that God is the giver and maker of all. As sinners we plead and continually offer this service in the spiritual mystery of the Eucharist, which is the continual memorial before the Father of the once-offered and never-to-be-repeated sacrifice of His Son, in the hope of satisfaction and acceptance. Christ is the true priest, the only real sacrifice, and the bread and cup are the Church's ceremonial identification with Christ in His sacrifice. If Christ is priest, the whole Church is priestly. The law was but a shadow of the good things to come. As compared with non-Christian humanity, this congregation of accepted sons and daughters is a holy nation, a royal priesthood. And priesthood in the Church, is not a thing over and apart from the collective body,

but is altogether pastoral in its character. The priest is the organic body's representative, and what is done by him is not instead of, or for the sake of the whole, but rather that the congregation does it by and through him. The Christian priest does not offer an atoning sacrifice on behalf of the Church, but that the Church through his act is identified upon earth with the one sufficient sacrifice of the atonement made by Christ, and ministers are priests because personally consecrated to be active organs or representatives in their personality of that which the whole Church cannot but essentially be. As Christ was sent, so He sends His representatives, and the offerer of worship is Christ's servant on earth, naturally, as church life could never have existed without a duly commissioned executive. This ministry of the high and heavenly reality of the eternal priesthood is so exalted an honor, that no man dare take it unto himself. We can consider with unanimity the forms of Christian ministry growing out of ordinary human needs, which the creation of successive experiences and changes of circumstances called for, and yet faithfully carrying out a divine plan in a divinely-appointed way. The evolution theory of the sixteenth century Separatists is characterized by scholars as mechanical and godless, and be it said to the honor of our Anglican reformers, in the face of destructive Protestantism, they retained with delib-

erate emphasis the Christian "priesthood," as apostolic and perpetual in the Church of Christ. (See chart, p. 189.) In days gone by it was no uncommon thing for the clergy to hear the taunts of ceremony-monger, Baal priest, and sacerdotal ape; but, happily, those uncharitable days have passed, and sacerdotalism is being scrutinized with an unimpassioned candor which it never received before. The term Sacerdotalism was perverted in days when controversy ran high to overcome in many quarters a certain arrogance and assumption which to some extent is still combated, but it technically meant in England "the legal doctrine that a benefice is the freehold of the incumbent for the time being," and in this sense has nothing to do with the fundamentals of Christianity. If the doctrine of the ministry and sacraments, chiefly amongst which stands the tenets of Apostolic Succession, the Eucharistic sacrifice, and regeneration, are untenable, because Protestantism has rejected them, then the whole position of the Church, according to the teaching of Scripture, primitive creeds, and councils, break down, and our formulas and standards of doctrine are indefensible. This is a day of close scrutiny and patient inquiry, and Dr. Sanday, one of the most conservative and foremost of Greek scholars, in his "Conception of Priesthood," declares the burning question to be, Is the Christian minister a sacrificing priest or is he

not? He reviews the whole question already gone over by Lightfoot, Moberly, and Hort, and declares that the New Testament does recognize the Christian ministry in the character of a sacrificing priesthood. Dr. Sanday refers to St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, xv. 15, 16, as probably the strongest text on the subject, "That I should be a minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the Gospel of God." (Revised Version, ministering in sacrifice.) The Apostle conceives himself standing before the altar offering the Gentile churches for which he is responsible as an acceptable sacrifice for the purpose for which they were destined. The Sermon upon the Mount does not reveal the full intent and purpose of Christ's coming into the world. The Jewish priesthood performed mediatorial offices, and were therefore considered a sacerdotal caste, but the Christian priesthood is not a sacrificing priesthood in this Old Testament sense. Dr. Sanday maintains that the root idea contained in the Synoptic Gospels, St. John and St. Paul, is "that the law of the life of Christ is dying in order to live," that had a world-wide significance, which the Christian appropriates, but not in the transcendent sense in which Christ died; and if the Christian is to be made one with Christ in His death, there can be no doubt that the ceremonial expression of this is to be sought in the Holy Communion. Whatever we may think of the

method of operation, we must all regard it as the one appointed ceremonial means under the New Covenant of realizing to ourselves the death of Christ. This is what St. Paul meant in 1 Corinthians, x. 16. It denotes the bringing home to the soul of man the death and sacrifice of Christ, and the priest pleads and presents the sacrifice of Christ, of which the Eucharist is an image, enacted upon earth, by the express institution of Christ, by whom the sacrifice was made. This sacrifice of Christ was once made for all—an eternal act—but with an effect that is indestructible.[1]

The early organization of the Church took place in an orderly and methodical way, and was neither the subject of dispute nor diffuse writing. The prudence with which they proceeded is illustrated in establishing the Church at Antioch, which was long delayed, not only because of our Lord's words (Matt. vii. 6), but whether Jews or heathens they needed much training to fit them to receive the Holy Mysteries of religion. The giving of the keys to St. Peter first, and afterwards to the whole of the Apostles, with the promise of power to bind and loose, and lastly in the Upper Room on the evening of the first Easter day, Christ breathed on the Twelve and said: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost" with power to forgive and retain sins (St. John xx. 22). When the

[1] W. Sanday, D.D., Conception of Priesthood, 1898.

sacred number had been broken by the fall of Judas they immediately ordained Matthias. The Twelve had surely a special and certain prerogative. St. John speaks of them as sitting on twelve thrones judging the ancient tribes of Israel, which ideal unity was intended to symbolize the indivisibility of the new covenant. The Deacons grew out of the most ordinary and natural causes, and were set apart by the Disciples by prayer, and laying on of hands. The Apostles were no doubt acting under the guidance of the Holy Ghost in this matter, carrying out the larger Divine purpose. The office of Elder or Presbyter, as all scholars are fully agreed, is nothing else than the standing office of the Jewish synagogue, transferred to the Christian Church. They confront us for the first time at Jerusalem when contributions are brought from Antioch. Dr. Sanday thinks that the members of a certain synagogue may have come bodily to Christianity, and simply retained their constitution as it was. And it is most natural to suppose that some one holding the office of Presbyter had been converted to believe in the Resurrected Jesus, and so retained the name. We cannot say whether the Episcopate grew by an unforced and natural process, or was a deliberate act. The Epistle to the Philippians, the Pastoral Epistles, the Epistle of Clement and probably the Shepherd of Hermas, speak of a plurality of bishops in each church, and

often bishop and presbyter are terms applied to the same person. We know, however, that when Ignatius was martyred, 110–117 A. D., there was at Antioch in Syria, and in the churches of Western Asia Minor, a Monarchical Episcopate in the later sense established; but here as in its origin great gaps of evidence leave us to conjecture how the transition from the Apostolate came about. The Episcopate may have arisen from secondary causes, but who will say that these were not guided by the finger of God, who was silently, though effectively, carrying out His purposes. Clement of Rome, whose name was in the Book of Life (Phil. iv. 3), shows that the principle of Apostolic Succession (although not laid down explicitly in the New Testament, no more than keeping of the Lord's day), undoubtedly dates from the Apostles. An ancient Latin version of Clement, (Ad. Cor. xliv. 1–3) has recently been discovered by Dom. G. Morin, which reads: "And our Apostles knew through our Lord Jesus Christ, that there would be strife over the name of the bishop's office. For this cause, therefore, having received complete foreknowledge, they appointed the aforesaid persons, and afterwards gave a further injunction that if they should fall asleep, other appointed men should succeed to their ministration. Those therefore who were appointed by them, or afterwards by other men of repute with the consent of

the whole Church, and have ministered unblameably to the flock of Christ . . . these men we consider to be unjustly deposed from their ministration." Clement seems to be writing against intrusion and parallels it to the revolt against the Aaronic priesthood (Numb. xvi., xvii). St. Clement regards the sacrifice and offering as the act of the whole Church performed through its presbyters, and to affirm that any other member of the Church, other than her ordained ministers, are authorized to stand as the Church's representative, to exercise the function of her priestly character, is neither to be inferred from Clement nor any other early Father, but is absolutely denied in fact.

The Didache, 100 A. D., says: The Christian congregation must not fail in the perpetual sacrifice as prophesied by Malachi, week by week; every Lord's day, it must be offered with regularity—in purity. Ignatius, 110–117 A. D., says: The unity of the bishop with the presbyterate means always Eucharistic Unity, which is the unity of the altar. Let no one be deceived, he says, except a man be within the altar, he is deprived of the Bread of God (Eph. v.). He that is within the altar is pure, that is to say, he that does anything apart from the bishop and the presbytery and the deacons, he is not pure in conscience (Trall. vii.). That ye may be obedient to the bishop and the presbyters with a mind that can-

not be moved, breaking one bread, which is the medicine of immortality, the antidote against death (Eph. xx.). Be dutiful then to use one Eucharist; for there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup unto union of His Blood; one Altar, as there is one bishop with the presbytery and deacons (Philad. iv.). That the two doctrines of the real presence and the Eucharistic sacrifice uniformly prevailed throughout the universal Church does not admit of any dispute, and as early an authority as St. Ambrose, who had been educated as a lawyer under the best masters of Rome, rose to eminent distinction at Milan, became a Christian, and eventually archbishop in 374 A. D., says that "the elements are transfigured by the mystery of the sacred prayer into flesh and blood," (De Fid. iv. 124). His Christian writings were at once accepted as authorities, wherein he calls the Holy Communion or Holy Eucharist, by the name of Missa. The term was used in the second and third centuries, but the origin of the word is in dispute, and in the Western Church designated the offering of the Holy Sacrifice. "Ite missa est" occurring towards the end of the Latin rite is the most probable reason for the name. The name was adopted in the reformed Book of 1549, but was dropped in the second Book of 1552; yet the act of uniformity which established this book speaks of the former one "as a very godly order agreeable to

the word of God, and the primitive Church," and condemned the changes made in 1552 as due merely to "doubts for the fashion and manner of the administration of the same, rather by the curiosity of the minister and mistakers than of any other worthy cause." Latimer, disputing at Oxford in 1554, said: "I find no great diversity in them; they are one Supper of the Lord." In 1567 Archbishop Parker published a book entitled "A Testimonie of Antiquitie, showing the auncient fayth in the Church of England touching the Sacrament of the Body and Bloude of the Lord," etc. The Anglo-Saxon Easter Homily of Archbishop Ælfric, 995 A. D., on the Holy Eucharist, was accepted by the Elizabethan bishops as sound doctrine. One paragraph reads: "Once suffered Christe hym selfe (Ebrew x.); but yet neverthelesse hys suffrynge is dayle renued at the Masse through mysterye of the holye housell." This Homily is attested to as sound doctrine by the signatures of Archbishop Parker of Canterbury; Archbishop Young of York; Grindal, Bishop of London; Pilkington, Bishop of Durham; Horne, Bishop of Winchester, and ten other bishops, namely: Barlow, Scory, Cox, Sandys, Bullingham, Davies, Bentham, Parkhurste, Best, and Robinson, nearly all pronounced Low Churchmen. It is not too much to say that the two doctrines of Real Presence and Eucharistic sacrifice have been vigorously asserted by all

the greatest names in Anglican theology. It is an easy matter to point out denunciations by illiterate men who would attack everything under the sun for selfish reasons, just as regeneration and conversion have been misrepresented, the former being preached as a soul-destroying doctrine, and the latter by a certain school preached as "denoting that change in the disposition, thoughts, desires, and objects of affection which takes place in the heart of a sinner when the Holy Spirit convinces him of his sinfulness. This is considered an awakening or bringing to a knowledge of the truth, when they are accordingly entitled to be known as "professing" Christians. All the early reformers of the Church of England taught that regeneration was effected in and by baptism. The article touching baptism in those put forth in 1536, signed by the two archbishops, sixteen other bishops, and many members of both houses of convocation, reads: "It is offered to all men, as well infants as such as have the use of reason, that by baptism they shall have remission of sins, and the grace and favor of God. . . . By the Sacrament of Baptism they do obtain remission of their sins, the peace, and favor of God, and be made thereby the very sons and children of God. . . . In and by this said Sacrament which they shall receive, God the Father giveth unto them for His Son Jesus Christ's sake remission of all their sins, and the grace

of the Holy Ghost, whereby they be newly regenerated and made the very children of God." [1]

The Institution of a Christian Man, 1537, and the Necessary Erudition, of 1543, express precisely the same doctrine. In regard to conversion all our reformers universally speak of sinners converting themselves, and turning to God, but who will rise up and explain why the Low Church school interpret the Scriptures, touching on this point, exclusively by the use of the passive voice. Man is no longer the active agent, turning himself, but is represented as the passive object, acted upon by an external agency. The English reformers never used it in this sense. Two or three illustrations will show how the Scriptures have been wrested from their context to support the passive theory. In the discourse following the parable of the sower (St. Matt. xiii. 15)"and be converted" is not in the passive voice and simply means to "turn back or repent" (should turn again). The same occurs in the text of St. Mark (iv. 12) and St. Luke (viii. 12) which is not passive and means "to turn or repent." In St. Luke xxii. 31 instead of "art converted," we should read "hast turned or repented" (when once thou hast turned again). The passive theory represents the Calvinistic turn given to the passages above mentioned. Regeneration after, and independently of

[1] Todd, Original Sin, etc.

baptism, was never taught by our reformers. Cranmer's Homily of Salvation, 1547, is incorporated into Article XI. of the XXXIX.[1]

It was no uncommon thing for churchmen who had adopted a loose, unceremonious style of churchmanship to denounce the Prayer Book of 1552 as a Mass-book, while Calvin described it as "the leavings of Popish dregs," and as "trifling and childish." Many objections were made to our present Book as virtually retaining the Mass, and for the benefit of those who would defend the pure and Scriptural administration of the Lord's Supper, we submit a tabular comparison of the leading factors of three offices.

The Sarum Missal 1085.	Book of Common Prayer 1662.	Westminster Directory, 1644.
Preparation of Priest.	Preparation of Priest.	Exhortation of invitation and warning.
Confession and Absolution.	Commandments and Kyrie (ten times).	Seating of Communicants round the table.
Kyrie (Nine times).	Collects, Epistle and Gospel.	Reading of the words of Institution as a lesson, not as a prayer.
Gloria in Excelsis.	Nicene Creed.	Prayer (extempore) of thanksgiving for mercies and all means of grace, and that God may so sanctify the ordinance that those who eat and drink may receive by faith the Body and Blood of Christ.
Collects, Epistle, and Gospel.	Oblation of bread and wine on the Altar.	Joint Communion of Minister and people, all seated, with no prescribed words of administration.
Nicene Creed.	Church militant prayer of Oblation and of Commemoration of living and departed.	Exhortation after Communion.
Oblation of bread and wine on the Altar.	Confession and absolution.	Thanksgiving.
Secreta for acceptance of Oblation.	Sursum Corda.	
Sursum Corda.	Preface.	
Preface.	Sanctus.	
Sanctus.	Prayer of Humble Access (for Priest and people).	
Commemoration of Living.	Consecration prayer.	
Consecration Prayer.	Communion of priest.	
Commemoration of Departed.	Communion of people (kneeling.)	
Prayers of Humble Access (for Priest only).	Post Communion prayers.	
Communion of Priest.	Gloria in Excelsis.	
Communion of People (kneeling).	Blessing and dismissal.	
Post-Communion prayers.		
Blessing and dismissal.		

[1] See Cranmer's remains, Latimer's and Ridley's Works.

It is hardly necessary to remind those who may read these lines that the struggle of the Reformation in England centered round the "Eucharist." The dispute was not about the thing itself, but about the manner. It was not, whether Christ was really present in the Eucharist, but whether He was there by transubstantiation or not? Archbishop Bramhall says:—"The Roman Church is not a Protestant Church, nor the Protestant Church a Roman Church. Yet both the one and the other may be homogeneous members of the Catholic Church. Their difference in essentials is but imaginary."[1] "The Holy Eucharist is a commemoration, a representation, an application of the all-sufficient propitiatory sacrifice of the Cross. If his [Bishop of Chalcedon's] sacrifice of the Mass have any other propitiating power or virtue in it than to commemorate, represent, and apply the merit of the sacrifice of the Cross, let him speak plainly what it is. Bellarmine knew no more of the sacrifice than we."[2] "Abate us transubstantiation, and those things which are consequent in this determination of the manner of the Presence, and we have no difference with them on this particular."[3] "It was not the erroneous opinions of the Church of Rome, but their obtruding them by laws upon other churches, which warranted a separation."[4]

[1] Works, vol. ii. p. 86.
[2] ii. p. 211.
[3] Vol. ii. p. 88.
[4] Vol. iii. p. 572.

Bishop Cosin, who affiliated with members of the French Reformed Church during his exile, says: "I cannot see where there is any real difference betwixt us [and the Church of Rome] about this Real Presence, if we would give over the study of contradiction, and understand one another aright. Moldanatus (De. Sacr. p. 143), after a long examination of the matter, concludes thus at last with us all: "For we do not hold this celebration to be so naked a commemoration of Christ's Body given to death, and of His Blood there shed for us; but that the same Body and Blood is present there in this commemoration (made by the Sacrament of bread and wine) to all that faithfully receive it: nor do we say it is so made a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, but that, by our prayers also added, we offer and present the death of Christ to God, that for His death's sake we may find mercy; in which respect we deny not this commemorative sacrifice to be propitiatory. The receiving of which Sacrament, or participating of which sacrifice, exhibited to us, we say is profitable only to them that receive it and participate of it; but the prayer that we add thereunto, in presenting the death and merits of our Saviour to God, is not only beneficial to them that are present, but to them that are absent also, to the dead and living both, to all true members of the Catholic Church of Christ."[1]

[1] Notes on the Common Prayer.

Henry Hammond, one of the most moderate of English divines of the seventeenth century, and a sturdy champion against Rome and Geneva, says: "I must confess I should not have begun the list as he doeth, that 'all Roman Catholics believe and reverence the sacrifice of the Mass as the most substantial and essential act of their religion; all Protestants condemn and abhor it,' when it is visible that the Protestants of the Church of England believe and reverence, as much as any, the sacrifice of the Eucharist as the most substantial and essential act of our religion, and doubt not but the word Missa, 'Mass,' has fitly been used by the Western Church to signify it, and herein abhor and condemn nothing but the corruptions and mutilations which the Church of Rome, without care of conforming themselves to the universal, have admitted in the celebration."[1]

Bishop Thirwall, a man of powerful intellect and vast learning, and decidedly hostile to the High Church school, says:

"The Church of England . . . has dealt with this subject in a spirit of true reverence, as well as of prudence and charity. She asserts the mystery inherent in the institution of the Sacrament, but abstains from all attempts to investigate and defend it, and leaves the widest range open to the devotional

[1] Preface to Despatcher Despatched.

feelings and the private meditations of her children with regard to it. And this liberty is so large, and has been so freely used that, apart from the express admission of transubstantiation, or of the grossly carnal notions to which it gave rise, and which, in the minds of the common people, are probably inseparable from it, I think there can hardly be any description of the Real Presence which in some sense or other is universally allowed that would not be found to be authorized by the language of most divines of our Church, and I am not aware, and do not believe, that our most advanced Ritualists have in fact outstepped those very ample bounds."[1]

There can be no doubt that our blessed Lord founded a society which he called His Church, and in the most general and comprehensive sense intended it to be a universal unity. The term Catholic (no more than the term Trinity) is not to be found in the New Testament, and when Ignatius wrote, 110 A. D., he was well advanced in years, with knowledge and experience of events covering a period of at least one generation preceding the death of St. John. In the use of the word Catholic the Jews were more and more impressed with the character of Christ's religion, which was not intended for any one people, place, or country, as Judaism had always been a select enclosure divided off from all the

[1] Bishop Thirwall's charge in 1866, pp. 97, 98.

rest of the world. Ignatius, one of the earliest successors to St. Paul the Apostle, began his work at Antioch before the destruction of Jerusalem, and is now Bishop of the third city of the Roman Empire, the center of the Gentile Church, the home of Christian liberty. Tradition alone would have enabled him to conceive the right idea in applying the term "Catholic Church" to the regenerated body, the aggregate of all Christian congregations, by which he means to imply that the cohesion of the churches would be fairly understood in the title Universal. It is a curious fact that the title Catholic was incorporated into the creed at the time when Gnosticism was at its height. The old Roman creed, which Harmack, the most advanced of the liberal school, thinks does not date from much before 140 A. D., uses the term "Sanctam Ecclesiam," but the Apostle's Creed, having an origin apart from Rome, and dating from not later than 160 A. D., uses the term "Sanctam ecclesiam Catholicam." The Church, from the beginning, maintained its inclusiveness, but was bound to emphasize its exclusiveness from necessity, when the Gnostics attempted to create a tradition and canon of their own. The Gnostics, who numbered more than fifty sects, varied as widely in their "isms" and "æons" as sectarianism does to-day. As the Catholic Church, "the congregation called apart from the world" by impli-

cation, shut out the Gnostic sects of the second century, and as the Church expanded beyond the influence of her early founders, it was necessary to formulate more exact definitions to shut out the later Donatism and Arianism. The defeat of Gnosticism was the greatest miracle of early Christianity. The religion of Christ is still on trial, and we may be said to be passing through a crisis.

If sectarian competition is responsible for a waning Christian character, we are as much in need of something positive at the end of the nineteenth century as they were in the second, as any compromise with cultured Gnosticism which partook of the curious blend of Rationalism, and Mysticism, would have resulted in headlong failure to orthodox Christianity. Part of our Christian civilization is now in a transition state, passing over from cultured Protestantism to a spiritual nebula, that we venture to term an esoteric Pantheism, going under the various names of Spiritualism, Christian Science, Theosophy, Agnosticism, etc., which legitimately and logically find their antecedents in the isms of the first three centuries. It must be borne in mind, when we emphasize Protestantism for Protestants, that the canon of the four Gospels was not fixed much before 140 A. D., when critics like "Marcion" began to make distinctions between the true and false. It was the Church of Asia Minor, the center of second

century Christianity, seconded by the influence of Rome, both of which were guided by Scripture and tradition, that formulated Catholic practise, and fixed the earliest canon of the Apostolic writings. The New Testament, as we now possess it, was not fixed much before 400 A. D. There was nothing to prevent the Gnostic sects of the first three centuries, like the Protestant sects of the last three, from claiming the Scriptures, and exclusively calling themselves Christians; but when heathen opponents endeavored to hold Catholic Christians responsible for the practise and opinions of heretics, who claimed the title of Christian in common with them, orthodox Christians placed themselves on the defensive. So, too, with sectarianism in these latter days. The Infidel and Agnostic point to the segregated mass of conflicting and contending brethren in contempt, endeavoring to hold men who profess the faith as St. Vincent held it ("that which has been believed everywhere, always, and by all. For that is truly and properly Catholic which embraces almost everything comprehensively. And this will be so if we follow Universality, Antiquity, and Consent"), responsible for the wild absurdities professed all around us under the name of "Protestant." After the second century the word Catholic was placed in strong juxtaposition over against heretic. There can be no doubt that the visible units which made

up the concrete visible body, were as clearly distinguishable in the days of Ignatius as in the days of St. Cyprian. "The Church is called Catholic," writes St. Cyril, of Jerusalem, "because she extends throughout the whole world, from one end of the earth to the other." "Know," writes Nicetas (post Augustinian) "that this one Catholic Church is planted in all the world, and be sure that you adhere steadfastly to her Communion. There are, it is true, other churches falsely so called, but you have nothing in common with them; heretical or schismatical have ceased to be 'holy' churches, for their faith and practise differ from that which Christ commanded, and His Apostles delivered."[1]

The Catholic Church throughout all the world has had divisions, and many bold and able advocates of theories, such as Cyprian, Origen, Augustine, and Anselm; but she only assimilated such portions as agreed with revealed doctrine, which alone is binding upon all. Individual opinions are never infallible, and no Catholic dogma can be referred to any theologian as its author. Protestantism sprang out of what was bad or defective in the Church, but hostility to evil has been characteristic of the Christian brotherhood in all ages, and in all countries. There has always been wickedness in the Church, and particularly so in the Middle Ages. It often happened, too,

[1] Caspari, Anecdota, p. 357.

that the highest ecclesiastics were guilty of the deepest crimes, but it is the vilest kind of calumny to accuse them all of being steeped in wickedness. From the days that Judas betrayed his Master, the tares have flourished, and often smothered out the wheat. Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, and Knox, set up their opinions against Western Christendom, and arbitrarily claimed to be interpreters of the Scripture canon. The doctrine of private judgment led to the introduction of Rationalism, and is the common parent of the most discordant and opposite heresies. A few illustrations will suffice. In 1877, the personal influence of the Emperor William—a man of eighty—as "Summus Episcopus," prevented the Apostles' Creed from being struck out of the Prussian Liturgy by the vote of the Consistories, and it was Guizot's influence, in 1872, in the French Protestant Synod, that secured a vague assertion of a supernatural element in religion, not, however, including the Deity of Christ, by the narrow majority of 61 to 46. The spirit of Protestantism has changed but little since the days of Luther and Calvin. Calvin said that "God instigates men to the commission of what is evil, and that man's fall into crime is ordained by the providence of God." The Rev. E. T. Jeffreys (Presbyterian), in an address December 21, 1897, said: "Calvinism is broader than Presbyterianism; it is condensed Christianity, and revealed truth

brought to its highest evolution." Dr. Liggetts, in his sermon before the Synod of Asbury Park, October 18, 1898, said: "With faith and repentance we are in the Church, and all the powers of hell or a bigoted Ecclesiasticism cannot put us out. The New Testament ministry is simply non-sectarian. It is not a ministry of priests. Peter, Paul, James, John, Timothy, and Titus, nor any of the rest, ever claimed to be priests, and it was not till the third century that Sacerdotalism began to have its spread in the Christian Church, and Sacerdotalism to-day is one of the greatest dangers to which the Christian Church is exposed." The Rev. Herrick Johnson (Presbyterian), of the Theol. Sem., Chicago, in his Bicentennial Sermon, in Philadelphia, November 13, 1898, said: "The right of private judgment, in matters of religion, is inalienable. The terms of admission imposed by the Presbyterian Church are belief in the Lord Jesus Christ. . . . Our Presbyterian fathers were of opinion that our Blessed Lord had appointed officers to exercise discipline. Christ did not set up a kingdom without regulated principles. There were authorized rulers of the early Church, and the government of the New Testament Church was a government by Elders. If the Presbyterian Church has nothing distinctive in faith and government, then she is guilty of schism. . . . The Reformed, or Calvinistic system, first of all, exalts

God. This system is the peculiar testimony of the Presbyterian Church. Belief in it has made her two and a half centuries of no mean history. The Presbyterian Government is represented by Elders, as representatives of the people." The following historical statements (without quoting authorities) were made by the Rev. Dr. Good, of Reading, before the Presbyterian ministers in Philadelphia, November 21, 1898:

"The first Protestants who settled in America were the Calvinists. In 1557 a French colony of this denomination settled in Brazil. In this colony were the first missionaries to the New World and the first martyrs, as some of these colonists were thrown from a rock to death by hostile natives in South America. The colonists, too, were the first settlers in North America. They formed a colony in Florida in 1567, and in New England their synods antedated those of the Congregationalists." Another instance of historic interest was made in an address prepared by William Henry Roberts, a Presbyterian, at the National Christian Citizenship Convention, Washington, D. C., December 14, 1898, "On newly-acquired foreign possessions." He argued that the Roman Catholics had no right or title to the Church properties of Cuba or the Philippines, because they had been maintained at the expense of the Spanish Government, and brought in the Church of England

as an illustration as follows: "The same ground was taken in England at the time of the Reformation. Westminster Abbey, London, was once a Roman Catholic place of worship, and is now a Protestant Episcopal Church, because the structure was paid for by the money of the English nation, and the ownership was and is in the English people." Why the author did not use an illustration from the passage of Church property in Scotland, under the leadership of Knox in 1560, is significant.

At the annual session of the Lutheran Church held in Philadelphia, December, 1898, the Rev. Dr. Seiss, on the "Unity of the Church," said: "The unity of the Church does not exist in undisturbed affection. St. Paul presents the unity of the Church as the unity of the spirit, a unity originating with and instigated by the Holy Ghost. All true Christians are born in the spirit. . . . The true unity of the Church is inward and spiritual." Rev. Dr. Bauslin, Springfield, Ohio, at the same synod said "that Luther asserted the universal priesthood of all believers and the right of individual conscience. . . . The keys were not given to Peter and his alleged successors, but to the entire Church. Free thinking in religion is not necessarily lawless thinking. The right of private judgment has its wholesome and necessary denominational limitations. A man has no right to teach Unitarian principles in a Lutheran

pulpit." And Dr. Krotel, on the subject of Church authority, said: "That Ananias and Sapphira and others were members of the church, but not of Christ's body. There cannot be an organization without law and authority." Rev. J. A. W. Haas, of New York, on the subject of ordination, said: "The ministry is no continuation of the Apostolate. The laying on of hands was an Old Testament religious form. What Christ did God did. The ministry has God's command and glorious promise. The realism of the divine gift was apparently not held by Luther. The ultimate principle of Protestantism and Romanism, which represent in themselves the antithesis of fact, are both destructive of the true principles of religion." The Rev. Henry Frank, of the Metropolitan Independent Church of New York, in a sermon of November 14, 1898, said: "Whosoever has studiously observed the religious signs of the times, the apathy of the masses for the pulpit, the handful of congregations in the vast void of ecclesiastical auditoriums, the pitiful cry of the man of the cloth for a hearing, while just across the way the man of the 'sawdust' fills his house to overflowing, must agree with the Brooklyn clergyman that there is something rotten in Denmark. Rampant sensationalism is supplanting antiquated earnestness. The evangelistic buffoon who grins and squeals and substitutes ribald humor for serious

eloquence tickles the palate of the multitude with facetiousness and palms off plagiarisms for popularity and platitudes for patronage, is the religious lion of the hour."—*New York Herald.*

To illustrate the interest that the secular press is taking in this matter we quote from another leading journal. "We believe that the spirit of denominational strife and bitterness which is so utterly at variance with the catholicity of the Gospel has largely monopolized the zeal of Christians. We cannot get around the fact that the Church is wasting too much of its ammunition upon quibbles. When it ought to be engaged in leveling its batteries upon the principalities of sin, it is rather engaged in the popgun warfare of petty and insignificant wrangles over denominational matters. Too much stress is laid upon non-essentials, and too little stress laid upon fundamentals; and church members are prone to call themselves, Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians, when they ought to call themselves Christians. . . . What the Church needs is to overcome its denominational jealousies and establish itself with one faith and with one hope upon the Rock of Ages. When the Saviour dwelt upon earth He laid the foundations of only one Church which He intended to be sufficient for His followers in all climes and in all ages; but during the eighteen centuries which have elapsed since the Word was made flesh and dwelt

among men, what multitudes of churches have sprung up, each differing from the other and each claiming to be the legitimate successor of the Church which the Saviour established; and such division of strength is incompatible with the best results not only for the reason that it prevents the Church from concentrating its full power in the effort to evangelize the Globe, but also for the reason that it tends to obscure the fundamental truths of religion. An unbeliever asks, "What if I accept the faith which you Christians offer? Will I not still be in doubt whether to choose the Baptist, the Methodist, or the Presbyterian method of salvation? These are pertinent questions, and they cannot be ignored. If Christians expect to conquer the world they must stand together not only in numbers but in common loyalty to the same fundamental truths of religion." [1]

The effort to apply the name undenominational and non-sectarian to institutions is an attempt to get rid of narrowness, and obliterate sectional animosities, by accepting the Bible as a collection of interesting literature, wherein the Holy Spirit is the only accepted interpreter. Creeds, and formulated doctrines are set aside as of human origin. All men can herein speak of Incarnation, Atonement and the High Priesthood of Christ, but no mention is to be made of Church, Ministry, or Sacraments. And last

[1] Atlanta Constitution, Oct., 1898.

but not least the Mormon Church which hedges under the defense of Protestantism, in a book called "New Witness for God," by Congressman Roberts, in 1895, says: "In the life to come, a man will build and inhabit, eat, drink, associate, and be happy with friends, and the power of endless increase will contribute to the power and dominion of those who attain by their righteousness unto those privileges." Locke, on the human understanding says: "Should any one a little catechize the greater part of the partizans of most of the sects in the world, he would not find concerning those matters they are so zealous for, that they have any opinions of their own."[1] The Church in all ages has been the witness and keeper of Divine truth, and in England through all the troubled period of her Reformation history, she defended the ministry, and provided for the spiritual succession; and it is not too much to say, taking the prayer-book as the connecting link between the medieval, and the restored Church, not one word or sentence betrays any Protestantism. Our efforts after reunion in this American Church of ours have met with repeated rebuffs from the Protestant sects, and just so long as we hide behind the subterfuge of silence by withholding our Catholic position, just that long will judgment be deferred, confusion of thought increase, demoralization of forces multiply,

[1] P. 461.

and an ever-increasing unbelief, which the passing years alone will bring home to our stulted consciences, as we are obliged to confess our inability to impress the hardened, disaffected mass. The Evangelicalism of the eighteenth century like its foster-parent Latitudinarianism of the seventeenth, was a compromise looking forward to a grand ideal of "comprehension," but experience has proved it to be an utter failure. In England this same party, not many years ago, gave up one of the Creeds in order to secure allies, and in this present year of grace, when prosecutions and litigations have failed against the Ritualists, hired rioters proceed from church to church, with the cry "no Popery," to make demonstrations in order to stir up prejudice and strife, rather than invoking that gentle charity which thinketh no evil; goes very far to show how thoroughly unbelief has interpenetrated that unthinking body of the Church. The religion of the first centuries must of necessity have been positive, otherwise the religion of the Christ would never have converted cultured Gnostics and Pagans to the orthodox Catholic faith. The compromise of Catholics with Arians, without close scrutiny of the subtleties that lay behind it, almost brought about the downfall of all religion, which was eventually saved by the uncompromising Athanasius in the fourth century. Protestant is negative, and so long as we affiliate with it will reunion be deferred.

In 1878, Dr. Thorold, Bishop of Rochester, the Junior Evangelical Bishop upon the bench, in his pastoral said: "First amongst the features of our present distress I put unbelief, because it is the first and greatest. Who does not prefer a grave superstition to a dismal Atheism? Thomas Aquinas at least adores Jesus Christ. Comte, in what he calls humanity, worships himself. Indisputably, unbelief is a wide expression, since it begins where a subtle Arianism almost imperceptibly parts company from the orthodox formula, and ends by a blank abyss, where modern thinkers blandly inform us that modern research gives no glimpse of a personal God, and where the human spirit, with all its ineffable hopes, undeveloped powers, and exquisite forces of joy and sorrow, faith and hope, is constantly told that its short life, so full of tragic interest, will be but as the brief sob of a wave as it rises and falls on the shore. The outcome is, that conscience becomes a lie, creation a misfortune, existence a bubble, reason an enigma, and death—the supreme end."

We have borne the title Protestant for more than a century upon our Prayer-book, and while admitting that we have increased in numbers and in influence, there can be no doubt that in many instances it has retarded our work and position before the world. Greeks and Roman Catholics look with suspicion upon the meaningless hybrid that has been

so long associated with heretic, and question not only our principles, but our faith, to make us as uncomfortable and odious as possible. It would seem, when the sun of a new century is about to dawn, with books and libraries multiplying all around us, that it is next to impossible that either superstition or ignorance should again overtake us, and the time seems most propitious to drop this narrow, bigoted, vindictive, unhistorical title, "Protestant," from that large-minded, ancient, Catholic heritage we call our Book of Common Prayer.

CHAPTER V.

ADOPTED IN AMERICA.

WHEN we turn our attention to the historical antecedents of our American Church, we find great gaps in the evidence concerning the revolutionary period, and notwithstanding the efforts of many modern authors, the historical data leading up to the national organization of our Church is still incomplete. It was never lack of interest on the part of churchmen, but rather the sentimental bias of party, that many a salient point has been silenced or obscured on the ground of expediency, which would now lead to a comprehensive understanding of many struggles that underlay the issues before the Church. Whig, Tory, and Jacobite differentiated churchmen in those days as widely as High and Low and Broad does the churchmen of the present. It is incompatible with the principles of good order that churchmen should be zealous for primitive practise to the utter disregard and neglect of primitive discipline. As late as the year 1877 the Rev. Ethan Allan, a specialist in

all that pertained to the early Church in Maryland, and after spending the best part of his life in research, at the age of eighty-one wrote to the Rt. Rev. Bishop Whittingham, of Maryland, under date of November 20th, as follows:

"My dear Bishop:—

"It may be that what I write may not be unacceptable or uninteresting to you, though I would not be troublesome. When in the spirit I have health I still dabble in matters both old and new, being provoked thereto by statements I see in the papers. The last thing I have noticed is the claim that lay delegates were obtruded into the convention first in the P. E. Church in Pennsylvania, but that such conventions were not held there first our own documents show beyond question. I have consequently employed myself occasionally in putting together the material which I have in the form of journals of the conventions of Maryland, 1780–81–82–83, showing what was done in Maryland in those years. . . . In looking over old things I could not help noticing that Maryland has the high honor of giving the first adopted Book of Common Prayer to the American Church, the committee being the Rev. Dr. William Smith, rector of the church in Chestertown; the Rev. Dr. Wharton, a Maryland-born churchman, as was the Rev. Dr. White, still held to be on *Spesutiæ*, and also of giving the name to the Church 'Protes-

tant Episcopal' by the Rev. J. J. Wilmer, the great uncle of our two bishop Wilmers," etc., etc.

Long before peace had actually been concluded, signs were not wanting to show that the American colonies were forever freed from the government and jurisdiction of the mother country, and the clergy who stood true to their people and church principles began at once to assert their privileges by reorganizing the existing fabric of the Colonial daughter into the pre-eminence of a sister church. The Church of the American colonies was most populous in Virginia and Maryland, both of which had legal establishments, but it was the Maryland clergy, be it said to their honor, that took the first steps to readjust themselves to the conditions that separation from England, had necessarily brought about. The Maryland assembly took the first step to disestablish the Church in her "Bill of Rights," which was passed the first Monday in October, 1777, leaving the clergy without legal support, which they had enjoyed for over three generations. The III. section of the "Declaration of Rights" reads: "That the inhabitants of Maryland are entitled to the Common Law of England, and the trial by jury according to the course of that law, and to the benefit of such of the English statutes as existed at the time of their first emigration, and which by experience have been found applicable to their local and other circum-

stances, and of such others as have been since made in England or Great Britain, and have been introduced, used, and practised by the courts of law or equity; and also to all acts of assembly in force on the 1st of June, 1774, except such as may have since expired or have been or may be altered by acts of convention or this declaration of rights; subject, nevertheless, to the revision of and amendment or repeal by the legislature of this State. And the inhabitants of Maryland are also entitled to all property derived to them from or under the charter granted by His Majesty, Charles the First, to Cæcilius Calvert, baron of Baltimore." XXXIII.: "That it is the duty of every man to worship God in such manner as he thinks most acceptable to him. All persons possessing the Christian religion are equally entitled to protection in their religious liberty; wherefore no person ought by any law to be molested in his person or estate on account of his religious persuasion or profession, or for his religious practise, unless, under color of religion, any man shall disturb the good order, peace, or safety of the State, or shall infringe the laws of morality or injure others in their natural, civil, or religious rights; nor ought any person to be compelled to frequent or maintain or contribute, unless on contract, to maintain any particular place of worship or any particular ministry; yet the legislature may, in their discretion, lay a gen-

eral and equal tax for the support of the Christian religion, leaving to each individual the power of appointing the payment over the money collected from him to the support of any particular place of worship or minister, or for the benefit of the poor of his own denomination, or the poor in general of any particular county; but the churches, chapels, glebes, and all other property now belonging to the Church of England ought to remain to the Church of England forever. And all acts of Assembly lately passed for collecting moneys for building or repairing particular churches or chapels of ease shall continue in force and executed, unless the legislature shall by act supersede or repeal the same; but no county court shall assess any quantity of tobacco or sum of money hereafter on the application of any vestryman or churchwardens, and every incumbent of the Church of England who hath remained in his parish and performed his duty shall be entitled to receive the provision and support established by the act entitled: 'An act for the support of the clergy of the Church of England in this province, till the November court of this present year to be held for the county in which his parish shall lie, or partly lie, or for such time as he hath remained in his parish and performed his duty." [1]

In the spring of 1779 the General Assembly

[1] Laws, Constitution of Maryland, etc., by W. Kilty, 1799.

passed an act to establish select vestries, viz.: "That the said vestries shall, as trustees of the parish, be vested with an estate in fee in all the glebe lands, as also in all churches and chapels, and the lands thereunto belonging, late the property of the people professing the religion of the Church of England." In November of the same year, a supplement was passed to the above act, which, after reciting what the declaration of rights contained on the subject, enacted: "That all property belonging to the Church of England shall be vested in the select vestries, as trustees of the parish to which they belong, as a body politic." An act was passed December 30, 1779, to empower the vestry of St. Paul's parish, Baltimore, to exchange certain lands with Thomas Harrison for the use of said parish and for other purposes therein mentioned.[1]

Section IV. reads:—And be it further enacted, that all and every part of the annual rents of the said glebe lands shall be forever hereafter collected yearly and every year by the said vestry, and their successors, and applied to the use and maintenance of a minister or reader of the said parish church in the town aforesaid, and to no other use, intent, or purpose whatsoever.[2]

It was perfectly clear to the mind of every As-

[1] Lib. T. B. H. No. 1, fol. 45.

[2] Laws of Maryland by Kilty.

semblyman and the thirteen religious societies within the bounds of the State of Maryland at least, what was meant by "all property now belonging to the Church of England ought to remain to the Church of England forever." The effect of the revolution necessarily severed the union which bound the colonies to the Mother Church as by conventional arrangement, but the unity which is after God's law remained unaffected. America was freed (so far as the Church was concerned) from English canon law, and control of the Bishop of London only, but spiritual unity and attachment for primitive Catholic Christianity was held by the major part as strongly as ever. The Church became as independent in ecclesiastical affairs as the State had become independent in civil affairs. The separate states considered themselves independent sovereignties in all civil relationships, and as such they sought a bond of union in the articles of confederation and federal constitution which was finally adopted October, 1789. The fathers of our country by their wise counsels aided in establishing our ecclesiastical system. The adoption of the constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America is contemporary with the adoption of the federal constitution. As neglect has been often charged to the Church of England in the matter of establishing an episcopate in America, we will briefly

refer to the efforts set on foot from time to time as to supplying one, and some of the causes which prevented such action from being carried into effect. America truly needed an episcopate, if any country in the world ever did, as the white population, according to Gwatkin and others, was computed to be about 1,260,000 in 1672, of which 401,000 were Episcopalians. Down to the revolution the Episcopalians were in the majority in Maryland, but were outnumbered by sectarians in each of the other states. The first proposal for an American episcopate was as early as 1673, when King Charles II. selected Dr. Alexander Murray to be bishop of Virginia, but the endowment being set apart out of public customs, the plan was defeated. The society for the propagation of the Gospel made the next attempt to send a bishop in 1703. Bishop Butler contributed liberally to this end, and in 1745 the bishop of London (Sherlock) offered the king and council 10,000 pounds if he would send a bishop to America. In 1710 the S. P. G. had actually bought a residence at Burlington, New Jersey, for the future bishop. The Province of Massachusetts Bay interfered with bringing over a bishop from England, as a letter sent from the House of Representatives, entirely made up of sectarians, to Dennis de Berdt, Esq., Consul at London, January 12, 1768. "The establishment of a Protestant episcopate in America is also very zeal-

ously contended for, and it is very alarming to a people whose fathers, from the hardships they suffered under such an establishment, were obliged to fly their native country into a wilderness, in order peaceably to enjoy their privileges, civil and religious; their being threatened with the loss of both at once, must throw them into a very disagreeable situation. We hope in God such an establishment will never take place in America, and we desire you would strenuously oppose it, etc., etc." The legislature of Virginia, composed chiefly of churchmen, in April, 1771, through the Rev. Wm. Camm, Commissary for the Bishop of London in Virginia, requested the attendance of churchmen at William and Mary on the fourth day of May to consider an American episcopate. The clergy responded to this summons by requesting another meeting June 4th, when only twelve clergy attended; and the proposition to address the king on the subject of the episcopate was negatived. The protestators affirmed, however, that there was no objection to episcopacy as such, and maintained that they should apply to the Bishop of London for advice. Their reasons for protesting against addressing the king were, amongst others: fourth, " because the establishment of an American episcopate at this time would tend greatly to weaken the connection between the mother country and her colonies, to continue their

present unhappy disputes, to infuse jealousies and fears into the minds of Protestant dissenters, and to give ill-disposed persons occasion to raise such disturbances as may endanger the very existence of the British Empire in America.

These erratic measures of the Virginians caused a coolness towards them on the part of the Northern provinces.[1] The first General Assembly of Maryland was held at St. Mary's, on the 10th day of May, 1692, and passed an act "for the worship of Almighty God and the establishment of the Protestant religion in the province." Under this act thirty parishes were laid out and established in the province. Maryland was ruled by a proprietary governor, who claimed exclusive jurisdiction, independently of the Bishop of London (save only in the case of ordination), as any interference on the bishop's part was an encroachment on the State's authority. This question of prerogative may be considered the seed-germ of the revolution. The Rev. William Jones, and the Rev. William Addison, of Maryland, wrote to the Bishop of London of their grievances, as follows: "That, inasmuch as the proprietary had it in his gift to induct men into livings, many of whom being unlearned and scandalous are installed. These men, under no jurisdiction, have done what seemed good in their own eyes, to the great scandal and

[1] See Hawkins' Missions of the Church of England.

detriment of our holy religion. For, from hence the Jesuits stationed amongst us have reaped no small advantage; from hence the enthusiasts and schismatics, rambling up and down the provinces, seeking whom they may seduce, have too much prevailed on the wavering and ignorant, and many members of the Church degenerated, having contempt of many of their teachers." On the 20th of September, 1768, the Rev. Hugh Neill wrote to the Bishop of London of what happened at the last session of Assembly, "that the ill-behavior of the clergy demanded some Church government," and an act was drawn up, "That, after such a day, the governor, three clergymen, and three laymen, should be constituted a Spiritual Court." The bill passed both houses, but Governor Sharp refused to sign it. It was at this time that the Rev. Samuel Keene, D. D., the rector of St. Luke's Church, Queen Anne County, the learned theologian and intrepid defender of the Church, in the halls of Maryland's civil government, prevented the Church from being Presbyterianized by its unhallowed legislation.[1]

This Act of the Assembly alarmed the clergy who were true to the Church, as it would have proved an effectual bar to the introduction of Episcopacy, which was generally hoped for by the clergy of the province. Previous to the revolution, Maryland had

[1] Maryland Clergy, by Rev. Ethen Allan

about fifty-four clergy more or less actively engaged in parochial work; some returned to England, and many left the State for various reasons, the chief of which was the disestablishment of the Church, which deprived many of their support, so that by about the end of the revolution there were only about twenty-five clergy left, who were ministering in the churches and chapels without any guarantee of support, and which now led to the first three conventions of the clergy and laity held in the American colonies.

In the year 1779, the Rev. Dr. William Smith, who had been Provost of the University of Pennsylvania for many years, was attacked at home and abroad by sectarians, and President Reed and the Legislature abrogated the college charter, on the alleged ground of disloyalty to the new State of Pennsylvania, and an undue devotion to the interests of the Church of England. Dr. Smith was a Scotchman, and graduate of Aberdeen University. He received orders in 1753, and had been specially honored with a Doctor's degree from Oxford, Cambridge, Aberdeen, and Dublin. He was a man of varied attainments, and was always considered liberal and generous. He was invited to preach the fast sermon before the Congress of the United States, on Thursday, May 23, 1781.

When Dr. William Smith was stripped of his honors, and left without position, he quit the State,

owing to opposition of the Presbyterian and Constitutionalist parties, and settled in Chestertown, Maryland, where he set in operation a village school, out of which grew Washington College, in 1782. He was offered the rectorship of Chestertown parish, for 600 bushels of wheat, which he accepted. He at once took a marked position in the Church of Maryland, and his thoughts immediately turned to assembling the churchmen of the State to revive and reinstate the Church that revolution had almost overwhelmed. He invited the Rev. James Jones Wilmer, the only clergyman besides himself in Kent, and the Rev. Samuel Keene, the only one remaining in Queen Anne's County, to meet with him in Chestertown, Md., Kent County, November 9, 1780. He also invited sixteen laymen from St. Paul's, Chester, and Shrewsbury parishes, in Kent County, and eight laymen from Queen Anne's County, all of which, according to the records, were present. The Rev. William Smith was elected president, and the Rev. J. J. Wilmer was appointed secretary. An address in the form of a petition had already been drawn up by the Rev. Dr. Smith, for the support of public religion, which was read and approved, and after it was ordered sent to every parish in the State for signature, it was to be carried by a special committee before the Legislature, addressed :—

"To the Honorable the General Assembly of the

State of Maryland." The members of this preliminary convention were persuaded that their petition was just, as the 33d section of the "Bill of Rights" contained an enabling clause "at their discretion to lay a general and equal tax for the support of the Christian religion." Before the convention adjourned the secretary, James Jones Wilmer, proposed that the Church known in the province as Protestant be called "The Protestant Episcopal Church," and it was adopted. In after years, when the Church had become an organized unity, and various ones were taking credit to themselves for the part they had played in effecting its consolidation (as Dr. White, for instance, claimed the introduction of laymen into the Church of Pennsylvania in 1783), James Jones Wilmer wrote to Bishop Claggett of Maryland under date of May 6th, 1810, as follows:—

"I am one of the three who first organized the Episcopal Church during the Revolution, and am consequently one of the primary aids to its consolidation throughout the United States. The Rev. Dr. Smith, Dr. Keene, and myself held the first convention at Chestertown, and I acted as secretary. He also states in this letter that "he moved that the Church of England as heretofore so known in the province be now called "The Protestant Episcopal Church," and it was so adopted. This letter was found by the Rev. Ethan Allen, but it has recently dis-

appeared. A second convention, according to the vestry records of St. Peter's, Talbot County, and St. Paul's, Queen Anne's County, was called to meet at Chestertown, Md., April 5, 1781. There is no journal of this convention known to be in existence, but, according to the records of the vestries already named, the meeting did take place. The Rev. J. J. Wilmer's letter shows that a third convention of the clergy and laity took place in Baltimore in 1782. This was the first convention held on the western shore, in which the Rev. Wm. Andrews and the Rev. Dr. West took part with those already mentioned on the eastern shore. As Andrews returned from Pennsylvania in April, it is presumed the convention took place in that month. The chief subject before this convention, like the two former ones, "was how to provide sustenance for the clergy." A fourth convention was held at Chestertown, May 12–15, 1783, which was also the first annual commencement of Washington College, so called in honorable and perpetual memory of his Excellency. Most of the founders of the college were churchmen, but it was advertised and known to the assembly as undenominational. It was at this convention of 1783 that the Maryland clergy first consulted as to what alteration might be necessary in the Liturgy, how the Church might be reorganized, and a succession of the ministry kept up. Accordingly "an address to

the Members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Maryland" was drawn up with the following introduction:—"The Proceedings of the Clergy and Laity of this Church, at sundry conferences, meetings, or conventions (both jointly and severally) during the last three years, have no other object than is in general set forth in the title-page, and minutes of convention, prefixed to this address; and our business, as a committee, being to digest and publish those proceedings, for the information of all whom it may concern; we shall begin with the first petition to the General Assembly of this State, for a law towards the support of the Christian Religion, agreeably to the provision made in the Bill of Rights." It was the separate act of a very considerable number of vestries, wholly in their lay character, and was in the following words, viz.:—

Here follows the petition to the Honorable the General Assembly, etc., etc.[1]

When the consent of various parishes had been secured, the committee, in accordance with the convention's instructions, presented themselves before the General Assembly of the State of Maryland, in an address entitled "The Memorial and Petition of the Subscribers, in behalf of themselves and others, the Clergy of the Episcopal Churches," showeth: "That the happy termination of the war, the estab-

[1] Given in full in Bishop Perry's Notes and Documents, pp. 16–21

lishment of peace. . . . That in respect to the Episcopal Churches in this State . . . . the following things are absolutely necessary, viz.: 1st. That some alterations should be made in the Liturgy and Service, in order to adapt the same to the Revolution, and for other purposes of uniformity, concord, and subordination in the State. 2d. That a method and plan for educating, ordaining, and keeping up a succession of able and fit ministers or pastors, for the service of the said churches, agreeably to ancient practise and their proposed principles, as well as that universal toleration established by the constitution, be speedily determined upon, and fixed, under the public authority of the State, and with the advice and consent of the clergy the said churches, after due consultation had thereupon.

"Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray—That the said Clergy may have leave to consult, prepare, and offer to the General Assembly, the draft of a bill, for the good purposes aforesaid, etc., etc.

Signed "WILLIAM SMITH,
"THOMAS GATES."

The General Assembly readily granted the prayer of the foregoing petition. It was at this juncture that the Rev. Dr. Smith wrote to the Rev. Dr. White of Philadelphia, under date of August 4, 1783, as follows:—

"DEAR SIR.—The clergy of Maryland are to meet

(in pursuance of the sanction obtained from the General Assembly) on the thirteenth of this month; but as Mr. Gates and myself were to call this meeting, we found on consulting some of our nearest brethren, that they did not think it proper, nor that we were authorized, to call any clergy to our assistance from the neighboring states—that the Episcopal clergy of Maryland were in some respects peculiarly circumstanced, and ought, in the first instance, to have a preparatory convention or conference, to consider and frame a declaration of their own rights as one of the churches of a separate and independent State, to agree upon some articles of government and unity among themselves, to fix some future time of meeting by adjournment, to appoint a committee to bring in a plan of some few alterations that may be found necessary in the Liturgy and Service of the Church, and by the authority of this first meeting to open a correspondence on the subject with the clergy of the neighboring states, and to have some speedy future and more general meeting with the clergy of those states, or committees from them, to unite if possible in the alterations to be made, which many among us think cannot have a full Church ratification till we have agreed on some plan or another, the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons to concur in the same. What state or civic ratification may be necessary, or whether any, is a question yet

to be determined. In Maryland, I presume, a few words of a declaratory act, that a clergy, ordained in such a form, and using a Liturgy with such alterations as may be agreed upon, are to be considered as entitled to the glebes, churches, and other property declared by the constitution to belong to the Church of England forever. I say such a short act as this, or the opinion of the judges that such act is not necessary—is, I conceive, all that will be wanted."

In pursuance of the consent of General Assembly the next convention of the Church of Maryland was held at Annapolis, Aug. 13, 1783. Bishop White in his memoirs (p. 92), denominates this as Maryland's first convention. The first act of this Annapolis convention was to nominate a committee consisting of Smith, Gordon, and Keene, for the eastern shore and West, Claggett, and Gates, for the western shore "to prepare the draft of an act or charter of incorporation, to enable the Episcopal Church of this state, as a body corporate, to hold goods, lands, and chattels, by deed, gift, devise, etc., to the amount of . . . per annum, as a fund for providing small annuities to the widows of clergymen, and for the education of their children, or any poor children in general, who may be found of promising genius and disposition for a supply of ministers in the said Church, and for other pious and charitable uses." The remaining business of

the convention was taken up with deliberations on the mode of obtaining a succession in the ministry, and on some fundamental articles for future uniformity, concord, and good government. The draft of the bill prepared by the committee was entitled:

"A declaration of certain fundamental rights and liberties of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Maryland, etc." The original declaration is given in full in Bishop Perry's History, notes and documents p. 22. It consists of a lengthy introduction and four sections which was signed by William Smith, president, and seventeen other clergy. The document is rather apologetic in tone, which is accounted for by the knowledge the committee had of the religious complexion of the assembly. It sought no exclusive privilege or advantage over other denominations, and thanked His Excellency (William Paca) for his great care and attention manifested for the Christian Church in general.

His Excellency replied "that it would give him the highest happiness and satisfaction, if, either in his individual capacity or public character, he could be instrumental in advancing the interests of religion in general, alleviating the sufferings of any of her ministers, and placing every branch of the Christian Church in this State upon the most equal and respectable footing."

The convention of Aug. 13th adjourned to the

second week of the spring-session of the General Assembly, or until especially called by their president or the committee. As there was no spring-session, it was afterward agreed that the president should call a meeting in June (1784), and that the different parishes or vestries should be invited to send delegates to the same. It was in this interval that the Rev. Dr. William Smith, under date of May 23d, Chester, Maryland, wrote the following letter to Messrs. Benj. Cotman of Trinity Church, Oxford, and Benj. Johnson of All Saints, Pemapecka.

" I know not what can be done at your meeting of vestries. This at least I wish, that a clergyman or two, and about two vestrymen, may be appointed a committee to meet committees from the neighboring states, at some convenient place, about next October, to fix on a general plan for all our churches, both in respect to discipline and our Church Service. Something fundamental ought also to be agreed upon respecting ordination, etc., similar to what was done in Maryland, a copy of which I gave to Dr. Magaw, declaring that Episcopal ordination is an indispensable qualification for every person who may be desirous to hold any living in our Church. Certainly none else can hold any of the churches heretofore established or built under the society for propagating the Gospel, nor the glebes where any are. There will be committees from several of the

Southern States, especially Maryland and Virginia, but they can hardly be got together till towards the end of September. I hope they may be induced to meet as far north as conveniently may be, perhaps at Philadelphia or Brunswick, or Wilmington in Delaware State."

This letter undoubtedly belongs to 1784, as the reference to vestries would indicate. The initial movement towards introducing the laity into the ecclesiastical councils of Pennsylvania was taken by Dr. White, March 29, 1784.

Two days after the Annapolis Convention, the Rev. Dr. Smith and the Rev. William Gates were attacked by the Rev. Patrick Allison, of Baltimore, in the Maryland *Gazette*, or Baltimore *General Advertiser*, of Friday, August 15, 1783, in an article headed, "There is a Time to Keep Silence, and a Time to Speak." In this article he addresses himself chiefly to "certain proposed alterations in the Book of Common Prayer, and the extraordinary proceeding of the devised plan to perpetuate the ministerial succession." He quotes from the "Bill of Rights," that "every man hath a right to petition the Legislature for redress of grievances in a peaceable, orderly manner. The Episcopal clergy of Maryland, as I apprehend, enjoyed every opportunity and convenience to petition in their own behalf, and were not disabled, incapacitated, or disqualified in any respect

whatever. If they chose to waive the mode of direct personal application, and appoint one or two distinguished characters among their brethren to apply for them, equally capable were they of furnishing their representatives with clear. satisfying evidence of the appointment, whereby their authority to proceed might be unquestionably proved. I ask, then, 'How it appears that Dr. Smith, and Mr. Gates were authorized to negotiate the public concern undertaken by them? Unless the history is defective or unfair, they are exhibited in the unfavorable forward light of self-delegated agents, transacting for others without commission, representing their case without being chosen, using their names without their consent," etc. Here he quotes section "33" of the Bill of Rights. "Agreeably to this fundamental in constitutional freedom, every denomination of Christians, their delegates and representatives, may, unmolested and unquestioned, meet at such times and places to consult about, regulate, and direct in the various businesses of their various churches, whether in relation to belief, to discipline, or worship; whether the design be to compose or alter prayers, or determine by whom and to whom the office of a bishop shall be committed. Under the security of the solemn declaration, all denominations have met, and do meet (here he quotes the principal ones of the thirteen denominations of Maryland). They have, or

ought to have, in view what is essentially different from civil government; and, therefore, in no part does civil government meddle with them at all. A similar right is recognized and exercised over the whole thirteen free and independent states. . . . None should be allowed to invade the privileges or enjoy distinctions at the expense of others, an inequality which, I trust, will never be tolerated here. . . . They and their secret coadjutors are justly charged with having in contemplation a favorite scheme, to be pursued by gradual steps, which they do not hold safe or advisable to disclose fully at present. . . . Some folks, surely they cannot be many, seem still to think some particular church should be in a certain sort of intimate connection and union with government, peculiarly, entitled to her friendly notice, singularly dependent on her fostering care; biased herein, no doubt, by habits contracted antecedent to the era of our freedom. . . . Should the arrogant usurpation be attempted in favor of any one religious denomination whatever, and should all other denominations be mean-spirited and unmanly enough to submit, they will deservedly crouch under the ignominious burdens laid on their slavish backs.

(Signed) "VINDEX.

"FREDERICK, *Aug.* 4, 1783."

Dr. Allison was a Presbyterian, and lived in Balti-

more, but he dated it from Frederick to disarm suspicion as to the quarter from which it might have come, as Somerset County, on the eastern shore, had been the cradle of Presbyterianism in these United States. The experienced and accomplished Dr. Smith divined its author, and made reply in the same paper, on the 9th of September, 1783, in a lengthy article, and charges him with deceit and falsehood, inasmuch as his argument was, for the most part, a verbal repetition of his arguments and concessions made in a conference upon the same subject with the Rev. John Andrews and myself at Baltimore, in July last, wherein, to the best of my remembrance, we had but little diversity of sentiment. . . . You are the only person whom I have ever heard express the least jealousy or concern. . . . Whether such meeting was held with or without leave, with or without the formality of any previous notice to the Legislature; whether it was called privately or publicly, by one or more of the body, or whether the whole, having come together by some lucky accident, had first agreed upon the expediency of a future meeting, and had then signed an instrument of writing to invite and authorize each other to meet, the only public concern is, whether its proceedings are constitutional, legal, and salutary?

Dr. Smith refers to his fictitious signature and

remarks: "As your name stands high among that denomination in Maryland, which, under the present constitution, seems alone to retain any symptoms of the former Episcopal horrors and jealousies, and as I have long experienced from you a continuation of that candor and respect which commenced from our first connection as master and pupil (and which, I trust, will never want a due return on my part), I could wish to discuss the present business with you alone. Mr. Gates and myself met for 'leave to consult, prepare, and offer a bill.' This is a petition of common right, and I believe it hath never been heard that any private or public bill was ever offered to a legislative body without leave first asked and obtained."

He next goes into the reasons why they could not petition in their own behalf, as many of them lived at near 200 miles distance from each other. They were under no obligation to publish their commission, to satisfy every busy inquirer in that matter. Their brethren the clergy gave them their unanimous thanks for the manner of their proceeding. All endeavors to separate or divide them and to prevent their assembling to consult and deliberate with all possible harmony upon their religious situation and concerns (God be thanked!) have proved abortive.

He next touches on the "Bill of Rights" respect-

ing that part of it which refers to religious liberty, as a rule for others, which it seems to me you have wholly forgotten in your own conduct. For you strive to "disturb the good order and peace of the State" by seeking to revive groundless jealousies and to introduce threadbare and needless disputes. You "infringe the law of morality by uncharitable censures, charging without proof some of your fellow-citizens as wrong-headed zealots, aspiring ecclesiastics, etc. . . ." There is an express clause in the "Bill of Rights" appropriating certain property in this State, such as churches, chapels, glebes, etc., to the Church of England forever. But it may be made a question, under the revolution, what is meant by the Church of England in Maryland, if, instead of this name, another should be used, such as "the Protestant Episcopal Church of, or in, Maryland."[1] And some necessary alterations should be made in the service now used, in order to accommodate the same to our present or future circumstances and persuasions. It may then be said we are no longer of the Church of England. Others may pretend that they come nearer to that church than we do (the Moravians are Protestant Episcopal), and claim either a common or exclusive right in the said property, although nothing can be more certain than that

[1] There is a Catholic Episcopal Church in Maryland, which is the reason of the distinction intended by the word Protestant.

such property ought never to be lost to any church by means of the change of a name or other alterations in modes and forms, provided the same be made with the authority and consent of the different orders of her clergy and people, duly organized and represented for that purpose. The sole object of the bill is to remove all such doubts concerning the property reserved to the Episcopal Church, to raise and manage a fund for the relief of distressed widows and children of her clergy, and to assist youths in gaining an education. Such declaratory and incorporating acts have long since been granted to the Episcopal, the Presbyterian, and other denominations who have requested the same in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, etc. You and I are members of such corporations, viz.: (society for establishing schools amongst German settlers and supplying them with Protestant ministers) in other states. Here he quotes the "Declaration of Rights" drawn up at the late convention, which formed the groundwork for completing their spiritual fabric: Wherefore, we, the clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Maryland (heretofore denominated the Church of England, as by law established), with all duty to the civil authority of the State, and with all love and good-will to our fellow-Christians of every other religious denomination, do hereby declare, make known, and claim the following as certain of the fundamental

rights and liberties inherent in and belonging to the said Episcopal Church, not only of common right, but agreeably to the express words, spirit, and design of the constitution and form of government aforesaid, viz.:

I. We consider it as the undoubted right of the said Protestant Episcopal Church, in common with other Christian Churches under the American Revolution, to complete and preserve herself as an entire Church, agreeably to her ancient usages and profession, and to have the free enjoyment and free exercise of those purely spiritual powers which are essential to the being of every Church or congregation of the faithful, and which, being derived only from Christ and His apostles, are to be maintained independent of every foreign or other jurisdiction so far as may be consistent with the civil rights of society.

II. That ever since the Reformation it hath been the received doctrine of the Church whereof we are members (and which by the constitution of this state is entitled to the perpetual enjoyment of certain property and rights under the denomination of the Church of England), "That there be these three orders of ministers in Christ's Church—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons," and that an Episcopal ordination and commission are necessary to the valid administration of the Sacraments and the due exercise of the ministerial functions in the said Church.

III. That, without calling in question the rights, modes, and forms of any other Christian churches or societies, or wishing the least contest with them on that subject, we consider and declare it to be an essential right of the said Protestant Episcopal Church to have and enjoy the continuance of the said three orders of ministers forever, so far as concerns matters purely spiritual; and that no persons, in the character of ministers, except such as are in the communion of the said Church, and duly called to the ministry by regular Episcopal ordination, can or ought to be admitted into, or enjoy any of the "churches, chapels, glebes, or other property," formerly belonging to the Church of England in this state, and which by the constitution and form of government is secured to the said Church forever, by whatsoever name, she, the said Church, or her superior order of ministers, may in future be denominated.

IV. That as it is the right, so it will be the duty, of the said church, when duly organized, constituted, and represented in a synod or convention of the different orders of her ministry and people, to revise her Liturgy, forms of prayer, and public worship, in order to adapt the same to the late Revolution and other local circumstances of America; which, it is humbly conceived, may and will be done, without any other or farther departure from the

venerable order and beautiful forms of worship of the Church from whence we sprung, than may be found expedient in the change of our situation from a daughter to a sister Church.

These articles were adopted at the Annapolis Convention, Aug. 13, 1783.

The following petition may not be without interest as it was presented to the Governor not later than 1770, when the Church was in full possession, and no question or objection was made whatever.

"To His Excellency ROBERT EDEN, Esq. (1769–1774), Governor and Commander-in-Chief over the Province of Maryland:—

"The petition of us, the subscribers, in behalf of ourselves and others, members of the Presbyterian Society, in Baltimore Town, humbly sheweth, That your petitioners, being Protestant dissenters, have, at a considerable expense, purchased a lot of ground, and erected thereon a church for the decent celebration of public worship in the exercise whereof we are influenced by such motives as our best information obliges us to approve. Our religious profession, though different from the Church established in this province, is perfectly consistent with the government and laws which breathe the spirit of toleration. Yet as we enjoy no legal consideration in a congregational capacity, we are unavoidably subject to

many inconveniences in recovering and securing such subscriptions as become due in the ordinary management of our affairs; together with any grants, devises, and donations which have been or may hereafter be made for the use and benefit of our Church, and fear that we are not sufficiently enabled to hold the Church, burying-ground, and estate of the society by a clear and indisputable title. Under these circumstances we beg leave to request that Your Excellency would be pleased to grant unto certain persons of our society a charter of incorporation for the benefit of the same, whereby our apprehensions and inconveniences may be removed and our professions effectually secured. With pleasure we view the spreading Catholicism of the present enlightened age, and the agreeable harmony which prevails among Christians of various denominations. Encouraged by your liberal and generous sentiments we respectfully prefer this application to Your Excellency, whose mild and impartial administration, since you received the reins of government in Maryland, have justly entitled you to the warmest acknowledgments from all its inhabitants. Should we be so happy as to obtain your approbation of our request it will increase the obligations we are already under to Your Excellency, in common with the whole people who have experienced the salutary effects of your upright measures. With due defer-

ence we submit the premises to your consideration, entreating Your Excellency to grant us such relief therein as to your wisdom shall seem proper, and your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall pray.

JONA. PLOWMAN,	W. SMITH,
WILL LYON & W. SMITH,	WILLIAM NEILLE,
WM. BUCHANAN,	JOHN BOYD,
WM. J. PEAR,	A. STENHOUSE,
J. LATERETT,	JOHN SMITH,
SAML. PURVIANCE, Jr.,	ROBERT PURVIANCE,

JAS. CALHOUN,

Committee of Presbyterian Society of Baltimore Town."[1]

To return to our subject proper, it will be in order to state that an adjourned convention was held at Annapolis, August 17, 1783, at which there were seventeen of the clergy present. Dr. Smith acted as president and the Rev. William West as secretary. The outcome of their deliberations concerning a succession in the ministry resulted in the election of the Rev. William Smith, D. D., to the episcopate of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Maryland. His testimonial to the Bishop of London, dated at Annapolis, Md., August 16, 1783, was signed by seventeen clergy, two natives of Virginia and three from New York. In accordance with previous instructions, it was understood that every parish and

[1] See Archives of the State of Maryland, Annapolis.

vestry was expected to be invited, and to send delegates to the June meeting in 1784, thus sanctioning and providing for the laity as in every case before. When the convention had assembled at Baltimore, June 22, 1784, their first business was to take into consideration the proceedings of the clerical members at their meeting in August, 1783, when the lay delegates desired leave to retire and consult upon the same; and on their return, reported by Mr. Joseph Coudon that they had read and discussed the same, paragraph by paragraph, and unanimously approved thereof. Before the close of this convention, a committee was appointed, consisting of Rev. Dr. Smith, Rev. William West, Rev. John Andrews, Mr. Joseph Coudon, A. M., Hon. Richard Ridgley, and Dr. Thomas Cradock, to digest and publish the proceedings of this convention, and such parts of former conventions as may be judged necessary to lay before the public, etc. They began their report by saying, "The proceedings of the clergy and laity of this Church at sundry conferences, meetings, or conventions, both jointly and severally, during the three years last past." Dr. Smith was a man of varied accomplishments, but he failed of being consecrated, owing possibly to Tory opposition or other minor indiscretions.

The Rev. Dr. Seabury was elected to the episcopate of Connecticut the latter part of March, 1783,

and, after long delay, he was consecrated by the nonjuring bishops of Scotland, November 14, 1784.

It was at this juncture that the Connecticut clergy took action in regard to a pamphlet issued by Dr. White in Philadelphia towards the close of the year 1782, and instructed Abraham Jarvis, their secretary, to communicate with Dr. White in relation to his proposed ordaining board. This letter was dated Woodbury, March 25, 1783, and is in part as follows :—

"REVEREND SIR,—We, the clergy of Connecticut, met at Woodbury, in voluntary convention, beg leave to acquaint you that a small pamphlet, printed in Philadelphia, has been transmitted to us, of which you are said to be the author. This pamphlet proposes a new form of government in the Episcopal Church, and points at the method of erecting it. As the thirteen states have now arisen to independent sovereignty, we agree with you, sir, that the chain which connected this with the Mother Church is broken; and the American Church is now left to stand in its own strength, and that some change in its regulations must in due time take place. But we think it premature and of dangerous consequence to enter upon so capital a business till we have resident bishops (if they can be obtained) to assist in the performance of it, and to form a new union in the American Church, under proper superiors, since

its union is now broken with such superiors in the British Church. Dr. White seemingly argued from the sectarian premises that the bishop derived his office and existence from the king's authority. The Connecticut clergymen argue that he (White) could not have proposed to set up a ministry, without waiting for the succession, had you believed Episcopal superiority to be an ordinance of Christ, with the exclusive authority of ordination and government, and that it has ever been so esteemed in the purest ages of the Church. . . . You plead necessity, however, and argue that the best writers in the Church admit of Presbyterian ordination, where Episcopal cannot be had. . . . We think the Episcopal superiority to be an ordinance of Christ, and we think that the uniform practise of the whole American Church, for near a century, sending their candidates near 3,000 miles for holy orders is more than a presumptive proof that the Church here are, and ever have been, of this opinion," etc.[1]

Dr. White, in his pamphlet, "The Case of the Episcopal Churches Considered," argued with perspicuity, but his reasons were principally drawn from the Presbyterian armory. When he states "that English Protestants, during the persecution of Queen Mary, fled to Germany and Geneva," we unhesitatingly assert that most every one of them went

[1] Appendix to Bishop White's Memoirs, p. 282.

to Zürich and Frankfort. He affirms that the returning exiles who had received sectarian ordination were admitted to hold benefices in England, as in the case of Whittingham, already referred to. He cites the Law "13th Elizabeth 12," which Non-Conformists had endeavored to wrest from its original context on the merest technicality in favor of non-Episcopal ordination, etc.[1]

There is another instance of how little the good Dr. White knew of ecclesiastical events outside his own country, as on page 20 of his Memoirs he states, "No sooner was it known in America that Great Britain had acknowledged her independence, than a few young gentlemen to the southward . . . applied to the then Bishop of London, Dr. Lowth, for orders." Dr. Lowth was Bishop of London, according to Bishop Stubb's "Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum" (2d ed. 1897), from 1766 to 1777. Drs. McConnell and McMaster, following in the footsteps of Bishop White, are clearly in error when they quote Dr. Lowth as Bishop of London in 1784.

As Bishop White, in his Memoirs (p. 86, 2d ed.) claimed to be the "proposer of the measure of introducing lay members into the first ecclesiastical assembly in any of the States," the principle of which he first advocated in a pamphlet already referred to, it will be in order to examine step by step, to

[1] The Case, etc., is printed in full in Bishop Perry's N. D., p. 421.

show how the separate fragments were gathered into a collective body. The first thought that was given to the subject in Pennsylvania was merely in conversation between Dr. White and Dr. Magaw on the 13th of November, 1783, which resulted in the preliminary meeting of the clergy and vestries of Christ, St. Peter's, and St. Paul's Churches, on the 31st of March, 1784. The clergy present at this meeting were the Rev. Dr. White, the Rev. Dr. Magaw, and the Rev. Robert Blackwell. There were two laymen from each parish invited, as follows: Matthew Clarkson, William Pollard, Christ Church; Dr. Clarkson, John Chalnor, St. Peter's; Lambert Wilmer, Esq., Plunket Fleeson, Esq., St. Paul's. Matthew Clarkson and Dr. Clarkson were not present, as they had been detained by sickness. The supreme question before this body of three clergymen and four laymen was the urgent necessity of speedily adopting measures for the forming of a plan of ecclesiastical government for the Episcopal Church, if possible, with the concurrence of the Episcopalians of the United States in general, and to this end it was resolved to send a circular-letter to the wardens and vestrymen of the respective Episcopal congregations in the State, which was entrusted to the Rev. Dr. White, chairman, who issued the letter, inviting one or more of each vestry throughout the state to meet in Christ Church on Monday, the 24th day of May, 1784.

Two months previous to the preliminary meeting, held in Philadelphia, the Rev. Abraham Beach, of New Brunswick, New Jersey, wrote the following letter to the Rev. Dr. White under date of January 26, 1784:—

"Reverend Sir:—I always expected that, as soon as the return of peace should put it in their power, the members of the Episcopal Church in this country would interest themselves in its behalf—would endeavor to introduce order and uniformity into it and provide for a succession in the ministry. The silence on this subject which hath universally prevailed, and still prevails, is a matter of real concern to me, as it seems to portend an utter extinction of that church which I so highly venerate. As I flatter myself your sentiments correspond with my own, I cannot deny myself the satisfaction of writing you on the subject. Every person I have conversed with is fully sensible that something should be done, and the sooner the better. For my own part, I think the first step that should be taken, in the present unsettled state of the Church, is to get a meeting of as many of the clergy as can be conveniently collected. Such a meeting appears to be peculiarly necessary in order to look into the condition of the widow's fund, which may at present be an object worth attending to, but will unavoidably dwindle to nothing if much longer neglected. Would it not,

therefore, be proper to advertise a meeting of the corporation in the spring at Brunswick, or any other place that may be thought more convenient, and endeavor to get together as many as possible of the clergy, who are not members, at the same time and place. A sincere regard to the interests of the Church induces me to make these proposals, wishing to be favored with your sentiments upon this subject. If anything should occur to you as necessary to be done in order to put us upon an equal footing with other denominations of Christians, and cement us together in the bonds of love, I should be happy in an opportunity of assisting in it."

Dr. White replied to the above communication on the 7th of February, and the Rev. Abraham Beach immediately communicated Dr. White's concurrence in the movement to the Rev. Mr. Provost and the Rev. Mr. Moore, of New York. In this letter of Rev. Mr. Beach's, under date of March 22, 1784, he says to Dr. White:

"In a letter I received from Mr. Blackwell, some time ago, he proposed Tuesday, 11th May, as a proper time for the meeting, and acquiesced with my proposal of Brunswick for the place. . . . Some of the lay members may perhaps scarcely think it worth their while to take so much trouble without a prospect of immediate profit to themselves. I cannot but flatter myself, however, that there are some still

who would wish to promote the interests of religion in general to save the Church of which we are members from utter decay, and consequently to promote the real happiness and prosperity of the country. Persons of this character will not, surely, withhold their assistance at this very critical juncture," etc., etc.

The Rev. Mr. Beach wrote again to the Rev. Dr. White, April 13, 1784:

"I have just received a letter from Mr. Provost signifying his concurrence of our meeting at Brunswick on Tuesday, May 11th. I wish you would be so good as to advertise it in one of your newspapers, with an invitation to all clergymen of the Episcopal Church, and perhaps you may think it proper to invite respectable characters of the laity, as matters of general concern to the Church may probably be discussed. . . . I am much obliged to you for the pamphlet (the Case of the Episcopal Churches, etc.) you were so kind to send me. I had the pleasure of reading it on its first publication, and am happy to agree with you in every particular excepting the necessity of receding from ancient usages. If this necessity existed in time of war, I cannot think that it does at present," etc.

The meeting proposed by the Rev. Mr. Beach took place at New Brunswick, May 11, 1784, was composed of ten clergymen and six laymen from the States of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

The chief object of this meeting was the revival of the corporation for the relief of the widows and orphans of the clergy. A committee was also appointed to secure the cooperation of the whole Church (especially Connecticut) in measures looking to the formation and consolidation of the whole Church. This committee was instructed to secure the interest of the clergy and laity of the scattered churches in a general meeting proposed to be held in New York, October 5, 1784. Bishop White, in his Memoirs, makes no allusion, in the account of this New Brunswick gathering, to the plan and purpose of union so ardently desired by the Rev. Mr. Beach.

In pursuance with the previous invitation the clergy and laity of Pennsylvania assembled at Christ Church May 24, 1784. There were four clergy men, viz., Dr. White of Christ Church, Rev. Wm. Blackwell of St. Peter's, the Rev. Wm. Magaw of St. Paul's, and the Rev. Jos. Hutchins of St. James, Lancaster. There were twenty-one laymen present, eight of whom represented the above named parishes and the balance represented ten churches which were nothing more than missions, as they were entirely supported by the S. P. G. Dr. White was chosen chairman, and Mr. William Pollard of Christ Church, clerk. This was not the first formal conference where the laity had been accorded the rights

and privileges of membership, but it was probably the first meeting that had taken formal action on parish representation, as a committee consisting of four clergy and five laymen "resolved, that each church shall have one vote, whether represented by one or more persons; or whether two or more united congregations be represented by one man, or set of men."

The result of the deliberations of the clergy and laity, from the sundry congregations of the Episcopal Church in the State of Pennsylvania, set forth a series of fundamental rules or principles, which were founded upon the Maryland "declaration of religious rights," but is more concisely expressed under the following heads:

I. That the Episcopal Church in these states is and ought to be independent of all foreign authority, ecclesiastical or civil.

II. That it hath and ought to have, in common with all other religious societies, full and exclusive powers to regulate the concerns of its own communion.

III. That the doctrines of the Gospel be maintained as now professed by the Church of England; and uniformity of worship be continued, as near as may be, to the Liturgy of the said Church.

IV. That the succession of the ministry be agreeably to the usage which requireth the three orders

of bishops, priests, and deacons; that the rights and powers of the same respectively be ascertained, and that they be exercised according to reasonable laws, to be duly made.

V. That to make canons or laws, there be no other authority than that of a representative body of the clergy and laity conjointly.

VI. That no powers be delegated to a general ecclesiastical government except such as cannot conveniently be exercised by the clergy and vestries in their respective congregations.

(Signed) WILLIAM WHITE,
Chairman.

The clergy of Maryland met again at Chester, October, 1784, and adopted certain constitutions, in many respects similar to those afterwards adopted by the general convention.

The clergy of Massachusetts and Rhode Island met at Boston and adopted substantially the same principles that the Philadelphia convention had adopted the previous May, 1784. It was stated at this Boston meeting to be the unanimous opinion of the clergy assembled "that it is beginning at the wrong end to attempt to organize our church before we have obtained a head." [1]

At the New Brunswick meeting of May 11, 1784, it was unanimously agreed to before parting to

[1] Bishop Leighton Coleman Hist. of Am. Ch., p. 143.

procure as general a meeting as might be, of clergy and laity of the different states, in the city of New York, on the 6th of October, 1784. The clergy and laity of New York were to notify the brethren eastward, and those of Philadelphia were to do the same southward. According to invitation, the gentlemen of the various states named below assembled in the city of New York, October 5th, 1784. There were present six clergymen and three laymen from New York; one clergyman and three laymen from New Jersey; three clergymen and four laymen from Pennsylvania; two clergymen and one layman from Delaware; one clergyman from Maryland; one clergyman from Connecticut; one clergyman from Massachusetts and Rhode Island; one clergyman from Virginia "by permission."

The chief business of this convention was to "unite in a general ecclesiastical constitution, on the following fundamental principles:"

I. That there shall be a general convention of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

II. That the Episcopal Church in each State send deputies to the convention, consisting of clergy and laity.

III. That associated congregations in two or more states may send deputies jointly.

IV. That the said Church shall maintain the doctrines of the Gospel as now held by the Church

of England, and shall adhere to the Liturgy of the said Church, as far as shall be consistent with the American Revolution and the constitutions of the respective states.

V. That in every state where there shall be a bishop duly consecrated and settled, he shall be considered as a member of the convention *ex officio*.

VI. That the clergy and laity assembled in convention shall deliberate in one body, but shall vote separately; and the concurrence of both shall be necessary to give validity to every measure.

VII. That the first meeting of the convention shall be at Philadelphia, the Tuesday before the feast of St. Michael next, etc.

Signed by order of the convention,

WILLIAM SMITH, D.D.,

President.

The following committee was appointed to draw up a constitution for the Church, and report the following September, 1785:—

The Rev. Dr. Smith, Maryland; Mr. John De Hart, New Jersey; Rev. Mr. Parker, Massachusetts and Rhode Island; Mr. Robert Clay, Delaware; Rev. Dr. White, and Mr. Clarkson, of Pennsylvania; Rev. Mr. Provost, and Mr. Duane, of New York.

Subsequent to the New York meeting the clergy and laity of the Church in Pennsylvania met at the house of Dr. White on the 7th of February, 1785,

when it was resolved to send to every clergyman and congregation in the state an account of the New York meeting, and recommended that clergy and deputies assemble in Philadelphia, May 23, 1785, to form an "Act of Association" in the State of Pennsylvania.

This document begins as follows:—

"Whereas, by the late Revolution, the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America is become independent, etc. . . . It is therefore, hereby determined, and declared by the clergy who do now, or who hereafter shall sign this act, and by the congregations who do now, or who hereafter shall consent to this act, either by its being ratified by their respective vestries, or by its being signed by their deputies duly authorized, that the said clergy and congregations shall be called and known by the name of "The Protestant Episcopal Church," in the State of Pennsylvania.

This document was signed by five clergymen and eleven laymen on the 24th day of May, in Philadelphia, 1785.[1]

Dr. White sent this Act of Association to the various clergy throughout the states.

The Rt. Rev. Bishop Seabury arrived at his home in Connecticut some time in July, 1785, and very soon after invited his clergy and the brethren of the

[1] Bishop Perry's Notes and Documents, pp. 40–43.

Southern States to meet with him in Middletown, Conn., August 3, 1785. The reply of the Philadelphia clergy was an invitation to those of Connecticut to come to the approaching general convention in September. Dr. White's pamphlet was seemingly unknown to Seabury until his return, and having read it he undertook to refute Dr. White's presbyterian polity in a series of letters. On the 19th of August he wrote: "The two points about which I am most concerned are, your circumscribing the Episcopal power within such narrow bounds, depriving the bishop of all government in the Church except as a presbyter, and your subjecting him and yourselves to be tried before a convention of presbyters and laymen. If these two points are adhered to . . . it will either fall into parties and dissolve, or sink into real Presbyterianism." On the 15th of August the Bishop had written Dr. Smith, of Chester, Md., who was seemingly very much exercised about the Church's property, as one paragraph reads: I can see no good ground of apprehension concerning the titles of estates or emoluments belonging to the Church in your state. Your Church is still the Church of England, subsisting under a different civil government. We have in America the Church of Holland, of Scotland, of Sweden, of Moravia, and why not of England? Our being of the Church of England no more implies dependence on, or subjec-

tion to England, than being of the Church of Holland implies subjection to Holland. In case it should appear that Bishop Seabury was alone in his contention with Dr. White, we quote one paragraph from the Rev. Dr. Chandler, of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, September 20, 1785, in which he reproduces a sentence from Hooker, viz.:—"A Bishop is a Minister of God, unto whom, with permanent continuance, is committed a power of chiefly government over presbyters as well as laymen, a power to be by way of jurisdiction, a Pastor even to pastors themselves." Chandler quotes "Sage" and other authors against "Baxter" and finally entreats Dr. White not to give his consent to rob Episcopacy of its essential rights.[1]

The meeting of the first general convention was anticipated with much interest throughout the whole country, and was composed of sixteen clergy and twenty-six laymen from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, as follows:—

New York, one clergyman, one layman; New Jersey, two clergymen, one layman; Pennsylvania, five clergymen, thirteen laymen; Delaware, one clergyman, six laymen; Maryland, five clergymen, two laymen; Virginia, one clergyman, one layman; South Carolina, one clergyman, two laymen.

[1] Bishop Perry's Notes and Documents, pp. 69–87.

When the committee reported on what has ever since been known as the "Proposed Book" (which was never ratified as the service book of the American Church), it was entitled, "Alterations in the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of the Church of England, Proposed and Recommended to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America." As Dr. Smith, Dr. White, and Dr. Wharton were responsible for the Alterations and Amendments to the Prayer Book, a voluminous correspondence was entered into concerning the same. On the 28th of October Dr. Smith wrote Dr. White concerning the word "Catholic" in the words "Good Estate of the Catholic Church," which had been objected to in a Maryland convention. "Although considered intelligible enough to many, yet it is not approved of by many others, on account of the vulgar application of it to one particular church." About the 10th of February, 1786, Dr. White sends Dr. Smith the Common Prayer with some queries (Page 10, Prot. Ep. Churches): "Would it not be better in ye singular number—at least it should be so when we speak of ye acts of ye late convention, in order to harmonize with ye phraseology of ye constitution?" Dr. Smith replied to this in March, 1786: "Protestant Episcopal Churches should be

in the singular number; and yet if all our New England brethren should not join us, they may say we take too much on us to call seven or eight States the whole Protestant Episcopal Church of America. I do not remember the connection of the paragraph; but if it be churches, in the plural, some such idea must have been in my head; or it is a mistake of the pen. Make this and other like things consistent to your best judgment; for I know you will not Aitkenize (Aitken, a printer) anything, being too judicious to put a patch that would not consort with the garment at large."

The first time in which all the churches are spoken of as "One Body" was at the conference held at New York, October 6, 1784, when certain "fundamental principles" were adopted as a basis for a constitution, and the second time was at Philadelphia, May 24, 1785, when the Pennsylvania delegates ratified these previous recommendations.

The name "Protestant" was made familiar to Wilmer, Smith, and others by colloquial usage in Maryland particularly, where Roman Catholics were struggling for toleration and recognition. The terms Protestant and Catholic were used generally to express the zenith and nadir of ecclesiastical polities. The title "Roman Catholic" was ordinarily applied to that section of the church in Maryland that claimed the Italian headship before the "Bill of Rights"

granted toleration, just as every deed, will, and contract have borne it ever since. There is a record of Protestants, "The Servants of Cornwallis," assembling for mutual edification as early as 1638, A. D. In 1642 we find a small colony disturbed by an attempt to deprive certain Protestant Catholics of the use of their chapel, and to despoil them of the books of the same. Bozman thinks this term can only mean the members of the Church of England. Henry Moore, the Jesuit, writing to Rome in 1642, speaks of English churchmen as heretics. This was some eight or ten years after the first Roman Catholic emigrants arrived in the chartered colony. When the civil war broke out in England anti-Catholic measures were enacted by the Legislature of Maryland, but the restoration of 1660 brought them a more liberal policy. Alsop (Jesuit), writing in 1666, refers to certain heretics of Maryland by calling them "Protestant Episcopal," which was equivalent to "Protestant Catholic," as used in the colony in 1642. Maryland had become the refuge of Jesuits, but the Roman Catholics of the State had always borne a threatening aspect to the minds of all Protestants, and it was a simple matter to raise a war-cry against them at any time. When William of Orange was about to invade England, the people of Maryland feared that the State would be placed in antagonism to the movement by Lord Baltimore, who was

a Romanist, on account of the existing enmity between France and England. A society was therefore formed in Maryland for "The Defense of the Protestant Religion and the Asserting of the Right of King William and Queen Mary to the Province of Maryland and all the English Dominions." Although Lord Baltimore had been made proprietary governor, he never resided in, or even visited, Maryland. In 1684 Lord Baltimore was ordered to place all offices in the hands of Protestants in Maryland. The adoption of the title "Protestant Episcopal" in the State of Pennsylvania was clearly an usurpation of the first principles of right, as the Moravians, who at that time occupied Nazareth and Bethlehem were known in law as "Protestant Episcopal" as an act of Parliament passed on the 12th day of May, in the twenty-first year of the reign of George II., 1747, enacted . . . "And, whereas, the said congregations are an ancient Protestant Episcopal Church, which has been countenanced and relieved by the kings of England, your Majesty's predecessors. . . . Every person being a member of the said Protestant Episcopal Church, known by the name of Unites Fratrum, or United Brethren," etc., etc.[1] The Moravian Church, which had a center of worship at Salem, North Carolina, was generally known as a church having bishops, and were called

[1] Phila. Hist. Soc., E. 6135.

by Johnson, of Stratford, and Caner, of Boston, Protestant Episcopalians, about 1764. The Rev. James Jones Wilmer, the proposer of our church's title, was brought up as a churchman, and ordained in 1773. His name disappears from church records in 1784, but it occurs a number of times in documents and letters at present in possession of the State of Maryland. On the 17th day of March, 1777, he applied to the General Assembly for permission to act as chaplain to the Annapolis first regiment of foot. On the 31st of July, 1778, he applied to the Hon. Council for a passport for himself and family to Europe. The pass, "by the opportunity of a British flag of truce," is dated Elizabethtown, March 5, 1779. On the 26th of July, 1779, Wilmer accused William Sluber, of Chesterton, of high treason. Sluber appeared at Annapolis and cleared himself. On the 21st of May, 1781, he wrote to Governor Lee apologizing for his ignorance in the forms of court business, and finally assures him that he is not merely politically, but personally a friend of his Excellency's person and government. June 14, 1784, he instructs the delegates from St. George's and St. John's, Harford County, to use their endeavors to maintain the purity of the Episcopal Church, consistent with the harmony of the state, as the Protestant Episcopal Church has an equal right with other denominations.

to retain her form and ceremonies.[1] The next time we hear of James Jones Wilmer he had become a Swedenborgian, and, according to his own record, preached the first sermon in the court-house of Baltimore, the first Sunday in April, 1792. Swedenborg died in 1772, and Wilmer, having secured "memorable relations of Baron Swedenborg," was led to renounce his church, probably for reasons of united Christendom, as given in his notes appended to the sermon: "On the clearest evidence of Scripture, I am entirely satisfied of the authenticity of the heavenly doctrine of the New Jerusalem Church, and that they are of the last (highest) importance to every seeking soul that pants after a glorious immortality." It is singular that in the small society existing in this place, there are members from almost every denomination. This shows how it meets the hearts of believers and is wisely calculated to establish a universal church."[2] Latitudinarian and Unitarian principles had been long nurtured in Maryland, as in other sections further north. Hoadley, Bishop of Bangor, who had denied the existence of any visible church, and had scoffed at the maintenance of orthodox tests, and the claims of church government, as early as 1717, was the accepted authority in matters ecclesiastical. The Church of England that was

[1] See Archives of the State deposited at present in Hist. Society, Baltimore, Md.

[2] Sermon—Ridgway Branch Phila. Lib., Al. 54231–0.

first planted in these American colonies, was part of the true vine, as we profess in our creeds, the one Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, and, on their becoming free and independent of the British Crown, the church which had taken the most interest and active part in that separation, should have logically and legally preserved her rightful title, "The American Church." This can in no sense be called presumption, but should be most carefully considered by those who talk most of unity. If possession is nine-tenths in law, certainly the Episcopal Church of these United States has the prior claim. The continent of North America was discovered by Sir John Cabot, on the 24th of June, 1497—St. John Baptist Day. On this discovery England based her claims to possession. From the 23d day of June, 1579, the Rev. Francis Fletcher, a priest of the Church of England, said morning and evening prayers, for six weeks, for the sailors and savages on the shore of Drake's Bay, California. In the year 1606, James I. of England created two charter companies, to whom he gave the sea-coast from the most eastern point of Maine to Wilmington, South Carolina, extending westward to the Pacific Ocean. On the 14th day of May, 1607, the Rev. Robert Hunt, who accompanied Sir Walter Raleigh to the New World, conducted the first service from the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, at Jamestown, Virginia, in the presence of

105 souls. It was here the first church was built, and a second followed it by command of Lord Delaware, in 1610.

The first Dutch settlements on the Hudson were in 1614. The New England colony of Anabaptists and Independents, at Plymouth, was in 1620. The Swedes settled Western Pennsylvania, and Wilmington, Del., 1623–1633. The first Roman Catholic bishop consecration for the American Colonies, took place in the chapel of Lulworth Castle, by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Charles Wamsley, Bishop of Rama (titular bishop), Senior Vicar Apostolic in England, on Sunday, the 15th day of August, 1790. In the course of the ordination sermon, the preacher said that Andrew White, an English Jesuit, accompanied the first colonists to Maryland, in 1632, and in 1720 R. F. Grayton, and others, introduced Roman Catholicism into Pennsylvania. Dr. John Carroll was the first Father and Bishop in the new church in America, and we notice that he was consecrated by one bishop, which was contrary to primitive practise and canons of Nicaea.[1]

Somerset County, Maryland, the cradle of American Presbyterianism, was first settled by the followers of Calvin, about 1670. A few, however, may have made their way into Virginia and Massachusetts in

[1] Pamphlet, printed by J. P. Coghlan, London, 1790, in the Bishop Whittingham Library, Baltimore, Md.

advance of this movement. The Quakers, under Penn, settled in Pennsylvania in 1682, and the first Moravian missionaries could not have started for the American Colonies before 1735 A. D. The history of the name "Protestant Episcopal" should be easily disposed of. The guiding hand in the composition of the "Proposed Book" was the Rev. Dr. Smith of Maryland, who was requested to read the service for the first time on Friday, October 7, 1785. Two days previous to this a committee of clerical and lay deputies, in the name of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, drew up an address directed to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England, requesting them to confer the Episcopal character on such persons as they might recommend. The bishops in their reply use the designated title, and express their deepest solicitude and sincere affection for the American Church, "but," they said, "we cannot but be extremely cautious, lest we should be the instruments of establishing an ecclesiastical system, which will be called a branch of the Church of England, but afterwards may possibly appear to have departed from it essentially, either in doctrine or in discipline." This reply was read to the convention held in Philadelphia on Tuesday, June 20, 1786. On the following Friday the debate on the constitution was renewed and continued.

Sec. IX. Instead of the words "to be the desire,"

insert—to be the general desire. After the words "Therefore the," delete the whole subsequent part of the section, and in place thereof insert as follows: Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, as revised and proposed to the use of the Protestant Episcopal Church, at a convention of the said Church, in the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, may be used by this Church, in such of the states as have adopted, or may adopt, the same in their particular conventions, till further provision is made in this case, by the first general convention which shall assemble with sufficient power to ratify a Book of Common Prayer for the Church in these States. The fourteen clergy and twelve laymen assembled in Philadelphia June 20, 1786, who represented seven States, did not consider the previous assembly of September, 1785, as a general convention, according to sec. ix. of the constitution.[1]

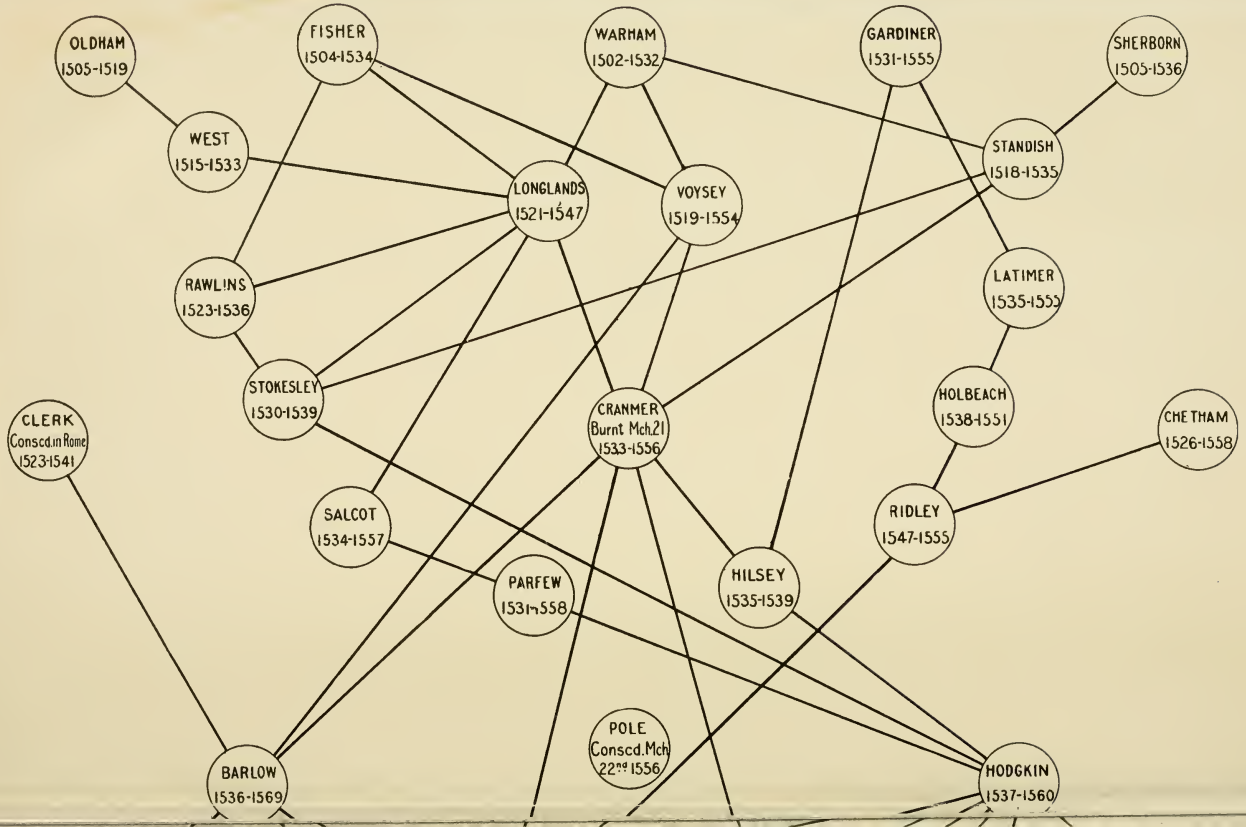
The General Convention met at Wilmington, Delaware, October 10, 1786, at which there were present, clergy and laymen, from six of the states as follows: New York, one clergyman, two laymen; New Jersey, two clergymen, three laymen; Pennsylvania, three clergymen, three laymen; Delaware,

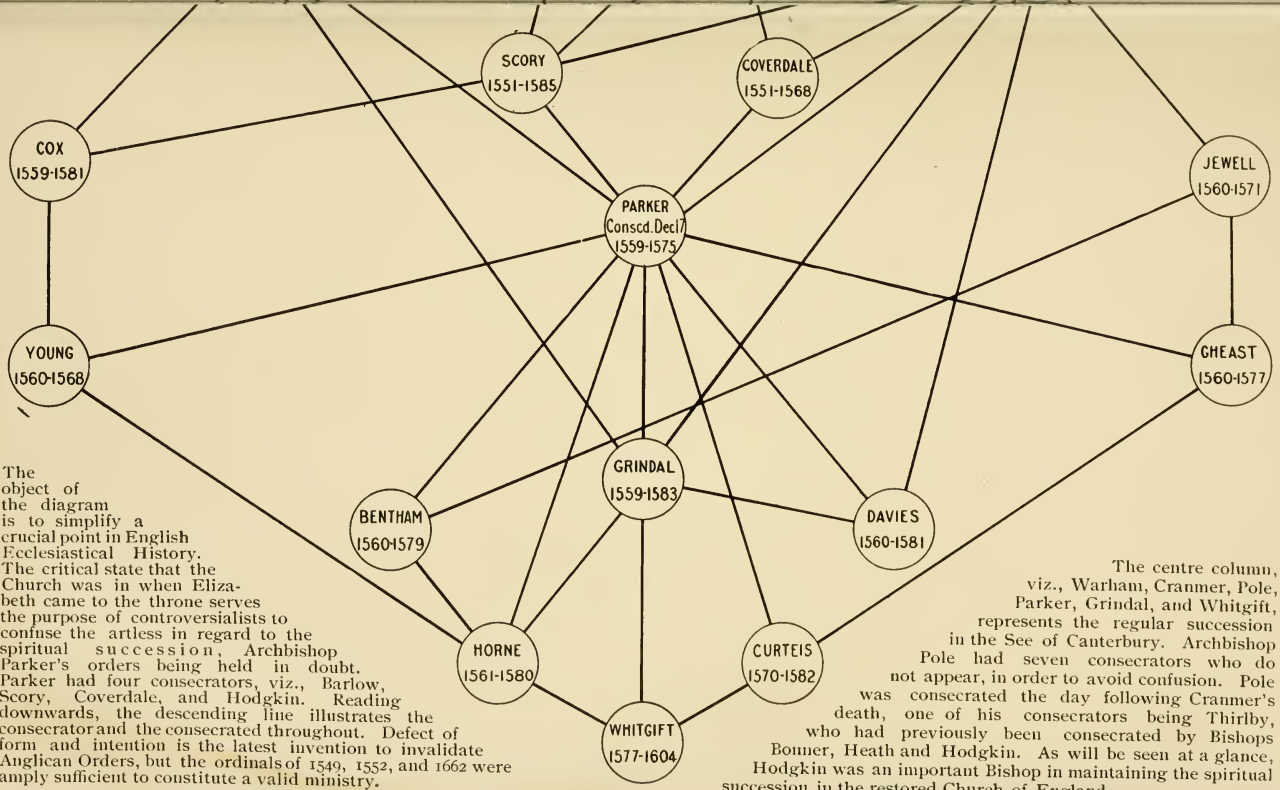
[1] Journal of the June Convention, Phila. Hist. Soc., E. 339.

two clergymen, two laymen; South Carolina, three clergyman, one layman.

The Rev. Dr. Smith of Maryland was present, but he was disfranchised on the ground of inconsistency with the fundamental articles, as a state could not be represented by a clerical deputy only. It was this convention at Wilmington that restored the Creeds in their integrity to the Book of Common Prayer, and the "Proposed Book" which had been submitted by the Rev. Dr. Smith, Dr. Wharton, and Dr. White was permanently laid aside, and we maintain that the title which accompanied that work should have disappeared with it. The English Book of Common Prayer was again taken up in 1789, and was made the basis of all future revision.

HENRY VIII, crowned April 22, 1509. Died January 28, 1547.
EDWARD VI, crowned February 20, 1547. Died July 6, 1553.
MARY, crowned October 1, 1553. Died November 17, 1558.
ELIZABETH, crowned January 20, 1559. Died March 24, 1603.





The object of the diagram is to simplify a crucial point in English Ecclesiastical History. The critical state that the Church was in when Elizabeth came to the throne serves the purpose of controversialists to confuse the artless in regard to the spiritual succession, Archbishop Parker's orders being held in doubt. Parker had four consecrators, viz., Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkin. Reading downwards, the descending line illustrates the consecrator and the consecrated throughout. Defect of form and intention is the latest invention to invalidate Anglican Orders, but the ordinals of 1549, 1552, and 1662 were amply sufficient to constitute a valid ministry.

The centre column, viz., Warham, Cranmer, Pole, Parker, Grindal, and Whitgift, represents the regular succession in the See of Canterbury. Archbishop Pole had seven consecrators who do not appear, in order to avoid confusion. Pole was consecrated the day following Cranmer's death, one of his consecrators being Thirlby, who had previously been consecrated by Bishops Bonner, Heath and Hodgkin. As will be seen at a glance, Hodgkin was an important Bishop in maintaining the spiritual succession in the restored Church of England.

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